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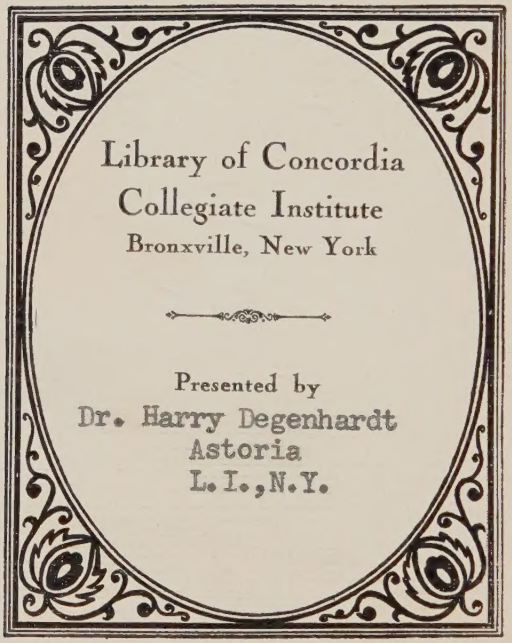

NAPOLEON THE FIRST

AN INTIMATE BIOGRAPHY

BY
WALTER GEER
AUTHOR OF "NAPOLEON THE THIRD," ETC.

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FOREWORD

OF books and memoirs about Napoleon there is no end, but there are comparatively few which give an unprejudiced picture of the man. For the most part no judgment has been passed upon him but that either of profound antipathy or of blind admiration. The books published about him during his life, and for many years after his death, have but little value. The idolatry and hatred which he inspired survived him too long to allow of an unbiased view. It has been his fate, in death, as in life, to stir the hearts of men to their depths. Now that one hundred years have elapsed since the " long-drawn agony " of Saint Helena we think that the time has come for a more impartial estimate. Facts are clearer, motives are better known, much new evidence is available. Let us then endeavor to depict Napoleon as he was, and " nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

WALTER GEER

NEW YORK, May, 1921

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NAPOLEON THE FIRST

CHAPTER ONE

1769–1789

EARLY YEARS

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THE life of Napoleon will always be associated with the names of three small islands: Corsica, where he was born; Elba, where he was first sent into exile; and Saint Helena, where he ended his days.

Lying in a magnificent site, at the extremity of its azure gulf, with an amphitheatre of mountains in the background, is situated the little city of Ajaccio, the capital of Corsica. As the place first appears to the eye of the traveller on the small steamer from Marseille, he is enchanted by a scene of beauty only surpassed by that of the larger and grander bay of Naples. The town glistens like a white city against the green slopes of snow-capped Monte d'Oro which come down from the blue sky to meet the blue sea.

At the end of the stone dock, the Quai Napoléon, at which the steamer ties up, is a wide, shady square, surrounded by tall palms. A street, the Rue Napoléon, leads to the older part of the town back of the citadel. Almost in the centre of the little city, and not more than five minutes walk from the cathedral in one direction and from the citadel in another stands a four-story, square stone house at the corner of a narrow street.

Above the door a marble tablet bears the inscription in French: "Napoleon was born in this house 15 August 1769."

The old Bonaparte mansion was partly destroyed during the Revolution, and later rebuilt by Cardinal Fesch. It has hardly been occupied since the family left Corsica, in 1793. Napoleon's mother willed it to the King of Rome, but she outlived him, and at her death it came into the possession of King Joseph. Later it was acquired by the Empress Eugénie, who owned so many of the family shrines.

On the second floor, adjoining the salon, is a large chamber with one window overlooking the side street. This is the room in which Napoleon was born.

In 1762, in his celebrated book "Le Contrat Social," Jean Jacques Rousseau wrote: "There is still one country in Europe susceptible of moulding by legislation — the island of Corsica. The courage and steadfastness which enabled this brave people to regain and to defend its liberty well deserve that a sage should teach it how that blessing should be preserved. I have a presentiment that this little island will some day astonish Europe." Seven years later the prophecy of the philosopher was verified by the birth on "this little island" of one whose genius was to astonish the whole world.

For many centuries the Bonaparte family had lived in provincial obscurity in Tuscany — first at Florence, then at San-Miniato, and later at Sarzana, a little isolated city of the State of Genoa. From father to son, there had been a long series of notaries and municipal syndics.

In 1529 a Bonaparte came from Sarzana to settle in Corsica, and this little detached branch of the family took root in an island not less Italian, but almost barbarous, amidst the institutions, the manners and the passions of the early Middle Ages. Though ruled in turn by Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals; by Pisa, and finally by Genoa, the Corsicans had retained a striking individuality. The rock-bound coast and mountainous

interior helped to preserve the essential features of a primitive existence. Their life centred around the family. The State counted for little or nothing. Laws were of no account when they conflicted with the code of family honor. The *vendetta* was the chief law of the island.

"In such a life," says Rose, "where commerce and agriculture were despised, where woman was merely a drudge and man a conspirator, there grew up the typical Corsican temperament, moody and exacting, but withal keen, brave and constant, which looked on the world as a fencing-school for the glorification of the family and the clan. Of this type Napoleon was to be the supreme exemplar; and the Fates granted him as an arena a chaotic France and a distracted Europe."

Napoleon's father was a handsome, courtly gentleman of unusual culture and distinguished manners, but of a feeble and even frivolous character, too fond of pleasure to occupy himself with his affairs. The 2 June 1764, at the age of eighteen, he married Letitia Ramolino, four years younger than himself, a girl of remarkable beauty. Like her husband she belonged to a good Florentine family, which had settled in Corsica at the end of the fifteenth century. She lost her father at the age of five years, and her mother married a Captain Fesch, of Swiss origin. From this union was born, in 1763, an only son, Joseph Fesch, afterwards Cardinal, who was therefore Napoleon's uncle, but only six years older than himself.

In a land of lovely women, Letitia had borne from girlhood the title of the "most beautiful woman of Corsica." She was of medium height and of graceful carriage, with the small hands and feet and ears, the regular teeth, the light brown hair, the noble forehead, the brilliant eyes, the long, well-formed nose, the fine mouth and strong chin which Napoleon inherited from her.

Napoleon's mother, who was afterwards called "Madame Mère," preserved her beauty till extreme old age. She was an extraordinary woman, and Napoleon derived from her many of his strongest qualities. She was full

of courage, and followed her husband through woods and mountains in the last days of Corsican independence, just prior to Napoleon's birth. She was devoted to her children, but brought them up with severity. "Misfortunes, privations, fatigues," said Napoleon, "she supported all, braved all: she had the head of a man upon the body of a woman." The devotion between mother and son, which lasted throughout their lives, is one of the most beautiful episodes in modern history.

Some years prior to Napoleon's birth, Corsica, which since 1300 had belonged to Genoa, had risen in rebellion and endeavored to achieve its independence under the leadership of Paoli. During the course of the Seven Years' War, Genoa sided with France, and Louis the Fifteenth promised in return to support that Republic in its contest with Corsica. For three years, from 1756 to 1759, French troops occupied the three principal harbors of the island. Measures were then taken by France to secure possession of Corsica. Negotiations with Genoa resulted in a treaty in 1768 by the terms of which the King of France was granted the sovereignty of the island under certain restrictive clauses which were generally understood to be only formal. Paoli in vain protested that Genoa had no right to thus dispose of the Corsicans. He continued the unequal struggle, but was finally decisively defeated in May 1769, and left the island a month later.

Corsica thus became French only a few months before the birth of Napoleon. At the opening of the war with France, Charles Bonaparte had been an aide de camp of Paoli. After the victory of the enemy, however, he became a zealous supporter of the new government, and was a member of the deputation sent to sue for peace from the French. A cordial welcome was given to the foreigners at his house in Ajaccio where his beautiful young wife made a charming hostess, and the French commandant, Comte Marbœuf, was a frequent visitor.

Nobility had not been recognized in Corsica before the French occupation, and the Genoese had done everything

in their power to debase the Corsican aristocracy, so that there was but little difference in the island between the manner of dress and of life of nobles and peasants. The new French Government pursued a different policy. They established a nobility, accepting such titles as could be proved. The Bonapartes were assisted in their research by the Grand Duke of Tuscany. They bore a count's coronet, and their arms were gules, two bends argent between two stars of the second.

The accounts of Napoleon's childhood have been embellished with a number of stories which are entirely without foundation. The most trustworthy narrative is derived from his mother. She tells us that he was very industrious and had a great capacity for mathematics. His first teachers were nuns, and he later went to a school formerly kept by the Jesuits. His power of inspiring and feeling deep affection was displayed in early childhood. At the same time traces of an imperious disposition were not wanting. Napoleon at a later date frankly admitted that as a boy he was turbulent, aggressive and quarrelsome; he was afraid of no one, but bit and scratched without reference to inequality of size or age. Joseph, although the elder, was no match for him.

He was certainly the product of his island home. He sprang from a proud, warlike, vindictive race. Political conditions also profoundly influenced his mind during his earlier years. "The history of Corsica," he wrote in 1789, "is nothing but the chronicle of a perpetual struggle between a small people who wish to live in freedom and their neighbors who wish to oppress them." The final stage of the long struggle had been reached, as we have seen, just before his birth. "I was born when my country was dying," he wrote to Paoli. The change of front on his father's part made no difference to the boy Napoleon. Corsican he remained in his heart, for many years, although a subject and a beneficiary of the French King. He adored Paoli and he detested the alien conquerors. At Brienne, in a moment of rage, he exclaimed to Bour-

rienne: "Je ferai à tes Français tout le mal que je pourrai."

It is often futile and misleading to inquire into the direction and extent of the influence exercised upon a child by his home surroundings, but Napoleon was certainly his mother's son. Both mentally and morally she was a remarkable woman. She was conspicuous for her strength of character, her energy, her courage, her love of power, and her capacity for practical affairs. But despite her occasional severity, her children both loved and respected her, and to her training and influence Napoleon ascribed the development of his own character.

The father was extravagant, careless, and, in the words of his famous son, "too fond of pleasure to occupy himself with us children." Their care thus devolved almost entirely upon their mother, and well she proved herself equal to the task.

Until the age of nine, Napoleon's home was at Ajaccio, though he went frequently with his parents to their country estates among the hills, not far away. Then came the first change in his life. The resources of his father were being severely tried by the continual growth of his large family, and it became necessary to provide for the education of his two elder sons.

It was decided to make Joseph a priest and Napoleon a soldier. Marbœuf promised to give the latter a scholarship in one of the Royal military schools, and to procure for the former an ecclesiastical benefice through his nephew, the Bishop of Autun. He arranged to place both of them at the College of Autun, one of the best public schools in France, where Joseph was to study classics, and Napoleon to remain a short time to learn French. The 15 December 1778 Charles Bonaparte left Ajaccio with his two little sons, one aged ten and the other nine. He also had with him his young brother-in-law, Joseph Fesch, who was to complete his studies for the priesthood at the Seminary of Aix.

As Napoleon tells us in his notes, they reached Autun

the first day of January. At the school, Joseph was thought to be a good boy, shy, quiet, and without ambition. Napoleon, on the other hand, was pensive and sombre, taking no part in the games, and walking about alone, which was quite natural as he could not speak French. He was cleverer than Joseph, and learned with greater facility. In three months he acquired sufficient French to converse fluently, and to write little exercises.

In the meantime his father was completing arrangements to enter Napoleon at one of the military schools as a *pensionnaire du roi*. For this two things were necessary — a certificate of nobility for four generations, and a certificate of poverty. For the first there was no difficulty, for the Bonapartes could show eleven generations of nobility. As to the second, four Corsicans testified that Charles had no income except his salary as assessor, and could not give his children the education suited to their rank.

Through the efforts of his father Napoleon finally received an appointment to Brienne, and left Autun 23 April, 1779, taking leave of his brother, who was to remain there five years longer. This school was one of the twelve institutions which Louis the Fifteenth had founded, nominally for the training of military cadets, though as a matter of fact they were conducted by the religious orders, and included among their pupils many boys not destined for the Army.

At Brienne, the boys wore a uniform, but otherwise there was nothing military about the establishment. The teaching was entirely in the hands of the fathers, and was rather poor. Latin and French literature and composition were the principal subjects of study, but some attention was given to history, geography and mathematics, and the accomplishments were represented by dancing and fencing. The discipline was not severe, but no holidays were given, and the pupils were never permitted to visit their homes or to receive visitors.

For each pupil a yearly sum of about seven hundred

francs was paid by quarterly installments in advance, and for this amount the fathers undertook to give the boys each a separate room or cell, to feed and clothe them, and to instruct them according to the curriculum outlined above. The pupils entered the schools at the age of eight or nine and remained six years. During the long vacation, which lasted from the middle of September to the second of November, although forbidden to leave the school, the boys had only one lesson a day and plenty of recreation.

The college of Brienne, originally a monastery, was built at the foot of the hill on which the Château stands. It had accommodations for one hundred and fifty students. They slept in two corridors, each of which contained seventy cells about six feet square, furnished with a strap-bed, a water jug, and basin. Meals were taken in a common dining-hall, and the fare was quite generous.

At first, Napoleon was thoroughly unhappy at Brienne. It is not difficult to imagine the feelings of this little ten-year-old boy, amid such surroundings, among strangers in a strange land. In the bleak climate and barren landscape of Champagne, he grew homesick for the blue skies and green hills of his native island. But he gradually became more reconciled to his lot, and in after-life his memories of the school were by no means unpleasant. He formed a few lasting friendships, among others with Bourrienne, who was later to be his private secretary, and with Lauriston, his last ambassador to Saint Petersburg.

During his stay at Brienne, Napoleon was short of stature. His eyes were bright, his forehead spacious, his lips delicately shaped, but his olive complexion gave him an air of ill-health. He was very passionate and his fellow-students were afraid of him.

As to his intellectual progress during these years, the truth seems to be that he was neither a prodigy nor a dunce, but only an ordinary lad. He never learned Latin, but on the other hand he was distinguished in mathematics

and remarkable for his knowledge of geography. He was the most indefatigable reader in the school, and the books which he chose were generally historical. Among his favorite authors was Plutarch.

In 1782, Napoleon had a visit from his father, who also came again two years later. The principal object of the visit of Charles to France in 1784 was to place his eldest daughter Maria-Anna (Elisa) in the celebrated school for indigent young ladies at Saint-Cyr, founded by Louis the Fourteenth. This was destined to be the last meeting between father and son. Charles Bonaparte was already suffering severely from the disease which was ultimately to prove fatal to Napoleon himself, a *squirre*, or cancerous tumor of the stomach, which is hard and not painful. According to Taine, four other members of the family died of the same disease — Napoleon's grandfather Joseph Bonaparte, his uncle Joseph Fesch, his brother Lucien and his sister Caroline.

While in Paris, Charles consulted Marie-Antoinette's physician, the celebrated Docteur de la Sonde, who advised him to try the waters of Orezza, in Corsica. But growing worse instead of better, early in 1785, he set out for France to put himself under the charge of the same physician. He got no further than Montpellier, where he died on the 24 February, having nearly completed his thirty-ninth year. His death was a great blow to his family whom he left in very straitened circumstances.

Napoleon had at first intended to be a sailor. He hoped to be stationed on the Mediterranean which would give him many opportunities of visiting his native island. But the influence of his mother, who dreaded the sea, and other causes, finally led him to change his plans, and to decide upon the artillery, an arm of the service in which merit had more influence than patronage or money.

To his great surprise the inspector, on his visit to Brienne in 1784, chose Napoleon, with four others, to enter the Ecole Militaire at Paris. He probably owed

this distinction to his standing in mathematics. Accompanied by one of the friars, Napoleon and his companions left Brienne for Paris on the 30 October.

Brienne will always be associated with the name of Napoleon. The little village, with its 1800 inhabitants, clustered about two cross-roads, lies in the heart of France some one hundred and twenty-five miles to the east of Paris and near Troyes, the ancient capital of Champagne. Before the Hôtel de Ville there stands the bronze statue of a long-haired, lean and undersized lad — the immortal school-boy of Brienne, with golden eagles and a crown at his feet. A little further on in this street there rises an old wall which once enclosed the school of the friars. The school was closed during the Revolution, and the only surviving monument is the convent in which the fathers lived.

On a little elevation near the cross-roads stands the old Château, where the Emperor stopped in 1805 on the way to his second coronation, at Milan. The show-room of the Château to-day is the "chambre à coucher de Napoléon" with everything in it carefully kept as he left it on his last visit the 31 January 1814, during the Campaign of France.

The Ecole Militaire at Paris, founded by Louis the Fifteenth, had been entirely reorganized in 1776. The new plan was to select each year from the national schools, like Brienne, a few of the most deserving pupils, to be educated at Paris. They were to be sent to the school for the purpose of acquiring a general military education, and to have access to the magnificent riding-school, the best in Europe. The subjects of study were eight in number: mathematics, history and geography, French and German grammar, fortification, drawing, and fencing. The young men were drilled every day, and twice a week were exercised in firing. They were also required to learn by heart the exercises of the drill-book. Each cadet had a separate room, simply furnished with an iron bedstead, a chair and a set of shelves. The old building,

which is still standing, fronts on the Champ-de-Mars, not far from the Eiffel Tower and the Hôtel des Invalides.

The Ecole Militaire was well governed and supervised, which goes to show that some things were done well even under the *ancien régime*. It was undoubtedly one of the finest educational establishments in France, if not the first of all. Saint-Germain, when he remodelled the school, certainly did not dream that it would one day turn out a Napoleon, but there can be no question that the career of the great soldier was profoundly influenced by the training he received there, and that the debt of gratitude he paid to his teachers was well deserved.

The course of study at the school was very hard, and the discipline severe. The cadets worked eight hours a day. They were not allowed to go outside the gates, and Napoleon received permission to visit his sister at Saint-Cyr only four times during the year he was there. But the discipline was sensibly exercised, and a serious attempt was made to give the cadets a good education, and to fit them to be men of the world. In short, the school would compare favorably with our West Point of to-day.

The sojourn of Napoleon at the Ecole Militaire was saddened by the death of his father, which he felt severely. Charles was buried first at Montpellier, but his body was later transferred to the crypt of the church at Saint-Leu, where are also buried Louis and his two elder sons.

Napoleon had now to prepare himself for the examination which would secure his commission in the artillery. The examination, which was held at Metz, was almost entirely confined to mathematics, in which he excelled. Out of the whole number of candidates who presented themselves in 1785, fifty-eight were passed and received their commissions. Four of the eighteen from the Paris school were successful, Bonaparte being among the number. He thus attained the honor of becoming an officer at the age of sixteen, after having been less than a year at the school. Although he had not specially distinguished himself at the Ecole Militaire, he won his grade,

after only ten months' work, over some of those who had surpassed him.

At the military school, as at Brienne, Napoleon showed signs of a deep and serious character. He was very industrious and very thoughtful. He had lost the sombre taciturnity which distinguished him at Brienne and had become more companionable. But he still remained a thorough Corsican.

Napoleon was at once assigned to the Régiment de La Fère which was then stationed at Valence. He spent his last two days in Paris in making preparations for his journey and in paying farewell visits. He left the school the 28 October 1785, and set out from Paris two days later in company with his friend Desmazis, who had been ordered to the same regiment. They travelled by the Lyon diligence, one of the best in the kingdom. The first day they dined at Fontainebleau and slept at Sens. From Chalons-sur-Saône they took the boat to Lyon, and from there to Valence.

The garrison at Valence at that time comprised seven regiments of artillery. The Régiment de La Fère was one of the best in the French army. Three days a week were given to study and three to artillery practice. The tone of the officers was excellent and the regiment was popular in the town.

Napoleon now put on the artillery uniform, blue with red facings. The first two months he drilled, like all the cadets of that period, first as private, then as corporal, and then as sergeant. He did not begin his service as second lieutenant until the first of January. His work was hard and confining. His pay was only 900 francs a year, which was supplemented by an allowance of 125 francs for lodging, and 200 francs from the Ecole Militaire, or a little more than 100 francs a month.

Valence, which to-day is an attractive old city of almost 30,000 inhabitants, is well situated on the banks of the River Rhône between Lyon and Avignon. It is but a step from the new to the old quarter, where the narrow

streets twist and turn and tumble down to the broad, swift river. Here stands the cathedral, and near-by at the corner of the Grande-Rue and the Rue du Croissant is a modern business block, without an identifying tablet to mark the house at No. 48 where Napoleon lived. A spinster, Mlle. Bou, kept house for her old father, and Sous-lieutenant Bonaparte paid them about ten francs a month for his lodging. When he ate his one real meal of the day, he walked along the Grande-Rue to the Place des Clercs, and turned into the little Rue Pérollerie, where he dined at the Café des Trois-Pigeons.

Napoleon brought to Valence a letter of introduction from the Bishop of Autun to the Abbé de Saint-Ruff, at the old abbaye, now the prefecture of the Department of the Drôme, near the foot of the Grande-Rue. Through him the boy officer also came to know the Abbé Raynal, one of the foremost philosophers of France at the time.

Napoleon seems to have been popular at Valence, and was received with kindness by many people. But, although he took lessons in dancing and deportment, which he had neglected at the military school, he remained shy and awkward, and never acquired, either then or afterwards, the distinguished manners of the *grands seigneurs* of the old régime.

He had the right to a leave of six months at the end of a year's service, and left for Corsica the first of September 1786, being allowed a month's grace on account of the distance from his home. At Aix he visited his uncle Fesch, who was still at the Seminary, and his brother Lucien who had left Brienne to be trained for the priesthood. He reached Ajaccio the middle of September, after an absence of nearly eight years. He was then seventeen years and one month old.

Napoleon saw once more with unbounded delight his mother and his brother Joseph. The latter said, many years afterwards: "Ah! the glorious Emperor will never indemnify me for Napoleon, whom I loved so well, and whom I should like to meet again as I knew him in 1786,

if there is indeed a meeting in the Elysian Fields." He was received everywhere with open arms, and the love of Corsica came back to him with renewed ardor.

His leave which should have expired on the first of April 1787 was extended for eight months on the ground of ill-health. As it was necessary, however, for him to visit Paris on his family affairs, he left Corsica on the 12 September after a stay of just a year. He now really saw Paris for the first time, as when at the military school he had not been allowed to visit the city. He lodged at the Hôtel de Cherbourg in the Rue du Four-Saint-Honoré. He went to the theatres and the Italian Opéra, and frequented the gardens of the Palais-Royal. His leave would have expired the first of December, but before starting from home he had applied for a further extension of six months, which was duly accorded him. Apparently it was not difficult to obtain leaves in the Régiment de La Fère.

Napoleon returned to Ajaccio on the first day of January 1788. He found his mother in very straitened circumstances, and did his best to help her. On the final expiration of his leave, the first of June, he left Corsica to rejoin his regiment, from which he had been absent twenty-one months. But these indulgences were common under the *ancien régime*, and it is not fair to censure Napoleon, as some historians have done, for taking advantage of what was really a custom in the Army.

The regiment was now quartered at Auxonne, situated between Dijon and the Swiss frontier, where Napoleon rejoined it. He lodged near the *caserne* in the Pavillon de la Ville. His room was very simply furnished, and had but one window. The damp and cold climate proved very trying, after the dry and bracing air of Corsica. He wrote in July: "I have nothing to do here except to work. I sleep very little since my illness. I go to bed at ten and get up at four, and have only one meal a day."

Although Napoleon was engaged in hard and continuous labor, and was at times ill and down-hearted,

during the fifteen months which he spent at Auxonne, he was far from leading a morose or solitary life. Besides his old chum Desmazis, he had many other warm friends, who remained attached to him through life. He had all the camaraderie of military life, which later gave him such power over his soldiers, as was evinced in the Italian campaigns, and is so often referred to in the memoirs of Marbot and others. He was present at all the regimental dinners, and there is abundant proof that he possessed the esteem and confidence of his fellow-officers.

At Auxonne, Napoleon finished his course of artillery and was ranked very near the head of the list. At this time he wrote to Fesch that the general in command had charged him with some very important work, and that this unheard-of favor to a junior lieutenant had excited the jealousy of the captains. The school of artillery at Auxonne was then commanded by Baron du Teil, who was very proud of it, as he had every reason to be. It had the reputation of being the best in France, and was visited by all foreigners of distinction when they came to the country. Du Teil was the first to appreciate the talents of Napoleon, and the Emperor in his will left a hundred thousand francs to the sons or grandsons of his former chief, "in return for the care which this worthy general had bestowed upon him."

While at Auxonne, Napoleon, for some unknown reason, was put under arrest for twenty-four hours. He was shut up in a room with an old chair, an old bed, and an old cupboard on top of which was an old worm-eaten copy of the "Digest." Having nothing else to do, Napoleon devoured the one book at his disposal, and the knowledge thus gained surprised the lawyers some years later when he was drawing up the "Code Napoléon."

In the summer of 1789 the contagion of the Revolution reached Auxonne. The regiment took the part of the rioters, and later broke out into open mutiny. In consequence of this, the regiment was separated and quartered in different places along the Saône.

Another period of leave was now due Napoleon, and he was allowed to start for home the middle of September, a month's grace being given him as usual. On his way he stopped at Valence and called on his old friend the Abbé de Saint-Ruff, who said to him: "As things are going at present, anyone may become King. If you become King, Monsieur de Bonaparte, make your peace with the Christian religion; you will find it advantageous." Napoleon followed this advice later, when as First Consul he negotiated the celebrated Concordat.

CHAPTER TWO

1789–1793

THE REVOLUTION

Decay of the Old Régime — The State Bankrupt — The King and Queen — Ministerial Changes — Meeting of the States-General — Fall of the Bastille — Napoleon Leaves for Corsica — Return of Paoli — Napoleon at Auxonne — Appointed First Lieutenant of the Fourth Regiment — At Valence Again — Flight of the King to Varennes — Oath of Allegiance to the Assembly — Corsica Again — Napoleon in Paris — Captain Bonaparte — The Attack on the Tuileries — Return to Ajaccio — The Maddalena Expedition — Break with Paoli — Final Departure for France

AFTER the failure of the royalist conspiracy of 1804, Napoleon uttered the famous words: "They seek to destroy the Revolution by attacking my person: I will defend it, for I am the Revolution." It was a daring transcript of the celebrated saying of Louis the Fourteenth, "L'état, c'est moi." And yet these were not words of presumptuous folly, they were only the sober truth, for in the single life of Napoleon Bonaparte was incarnate the world-wide movement which we call the French Revolution. He was the builder of the social edifice of modern France, and never, says Taine, has any individual character so profoundly impressed his mark upon a collective work.

It is impossible to undertake to set forth here all the causes which brought about in France that revolutionary movement to which so many of the political and social institutions of modern Europe owe their existence. But in order to understand the career of Napoleon, it is necessary to examine briefly some of the conditions out of which the Revolution grew. Only thus can we get our sense of perspective, our standard of values.

For centuries France had existed under the feudal sys-

tem, the essence of which was class distinctions, and privileges for all except the lowest classes. At the head of the State stood the monarch, the embodiment of the might and majesty of the nation. He was subject to no control. "The thing is legal because I wish it," said Louis the Sixteenth, thus stating in a single phrase the nature of the monarchy. The King made the laws, levied the taxes, spent them as he saw fit, declared war, made peace, contracted alliances. There were in theory practically no limits to his power.

Paris was the capital of France, but the King lived twelve miles away at Versailles in the most magnificent palace in Europe, built during the preceding century at a cost of five hundred million francs. Luxury was everywhere the prevailing note. The Court was composed of 18,000 people. In 1789, on the eve of the Revolution, when the nation was bankrupt, the total yearly cost of the Court was not far from a hundred million francs.

Nearly half of the national income was required for the payment of the interest on the national debt, which in twelve years had increased by nearly three billion francs. Every year the expenditures were largely in excess of the receipts, and the resulting deficit was met by new loans. At last the time had come when no one was willing to loan to the State, and bankruptcy was imminent. It was impossible to increase the taxes. The nobles and the clergy were practically exempt from taxation, and the remaining class, the third estate, was already taxed to the limit. The financial situation could no longer be ignored, and the King was finally forced to make an appeal to the people by summoning their representatives.

Louis the Sixteenth was a good, well-meaning man, but deficient in education and totally lacking in distinction, either of body or mind. He was awkward, timid, slow and uncertain. No king could have been less to the manner born.

He was entirely under the influence of the Queen, greatly to his misfortune as well as that of France. Marie-

Antoinette was the daughter of the great Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, and she had been married to Louis in the hope of thus cementing an alliance between two states which had long been enemies. She was beautiful, graceful and vivacious, and could not very well help despising her lout of a husband. She had a strong will, a power of rapid decision; but she was lacking in wisdom and experience, and utterly failed to understand the French temperament and the spirit of the times. She had been born to the purple, and had grown up in Vienna, one of the gayest of capitals. Her education was very defective. When she came to France to become the wife of Louis she could hardly read or write. Young and frivolous, wilful and impatient of restraint, she committed many indiscretions and laid herself open to gossip and calumny.

At the beginning of his reign, Louis had intrusted the management of the finances to Turgot, a great statesman, and a man of rare ability and courage. He announced his program to the King in the words, "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxation, no more borrowing." But although he saved many millions by suppressing useless expenditures, he offended those who benefited by existing abuses, and who were opposed to all reform, including the Queen, who thus helped to aggravate the financial situation and hasten the catastrophe. Louis finally yielded to the vehement importunities of the Queen and dismissed his ablest minister.

Turgot was succeeded by Necker, a Genevan banker, who was the father of the notorious Madame de Staël. He was a self-made man, who had risen from poverty to great wealth. Necker had the courage to publish a financial report showing the income and expenditures of the State. This audacious step infuriated the members of the Court, and the King was once more forced to yield to the storm, and Necker was dismissed.

This time the Court took no chances, and a Minister of Finance was found in Calonne, who was only too ready

to gratify their wishes. His purpose was to please, and please he did — for a while. Calonne was a charming man, of graceful address, who was past-master of the gentle art of spending. In three years, in a time of profound peace, he borrowed a billion and a half of francs. Then the treasury was empty and it was impossible to float any more loans. He proposed a tax to fall upon nobles as well as commoners, and at once met the fate of Turgot and Necker.

Every other resource having been exhausted the King now yielded to the popular demand and summoned the States-General to meet at Versailles the first of May 1789. Thus opened a new chapter in the history of France.

The States-General was an assembly representing the three estates of the nation: the clergy, the nobility and the commoners. It was an old institution of France, but one that had never fully developed like the parliament of England. The last previous meeting had been held in 1614, during the early days of the reign of Louis the Thirteenth. It was now revived, as a last resort, in a great national crisis in the hope that it might pull the State out of its deplorable situation.

Formerly each one of the three estates had had an equal number of delegates, and each estate had met separately. This organization was manifestly impossible now, if anything was to be accomplished, as it left the nation exactly where it had been, in the hands of the privileged classes. At the first meeting, held the 5 May 1789, there were about 1200 members present, of whom over a half were members of the third estate. In reality, however, the number of delegates in sympathy with the cause of the people was much greater, as over 200 of the 300 representatives elected by the clergy were parish priests, all commoners by origin.

During the first sessions, there was practical unanimity on the part of clergy, nobles and commoners in the formal statements of grievances and of the reforms they favored. Deep affection was expressed for the King, and gratitude

for his summoning of the States-General, and there was a general feeling of hopefulness that a way would easily be found to extract the nation from its unfortunate plight. But the Government had no plan to offer. The King, in his opening speech, was silent on the great question of the constitution, and had nothing to say about whether the estates should vote by order or by head. The Government thus shirked its responsibility and lost its opportunity, and a serious crisis soon developed. A conflict between the orders on the question of voting began on the sixth of May and lasted until the end of June. Both sides stood firm and the Government allowed things to drift. Finally a majority of the clergy and a minority of the nobility yielded, and on the 27 June the King commanded all to sit with the third estate in a single assembly. The National Assembly was now complete, and its first act was to appoint a committee on the constitution.

This crisis was no sooner over than another began to develop. At the inspiration of the Court party, a considerable body of troops, mainly foreign mercenaries, was ordered by the King to the vicinity of Paris and Versailles. It was evident that an attempt was to be made either to intimidate the Assembly or to suppress it entirely. The Assembly was saved by the violent and totally unexpected uprising of the city of Paris, which on the 14 July stormed the Bastille.

The Bastille was a fortress commanding the eastern section of Paris, which for four centuries and a half had terrorized the city. It had been built during the reign of Charles the Fifth to defend the suburb which contained the royal palace of Saint-Paul. It was used as a state prison and had had many distinguished occupants — among others the "Man with the Iron Mask," who died there in 1703 after five years of confinement.

A thousand engravings show us the Bastille as it was. It consisted of eight round towers, connected by massive walls, ten feet thick, pierced by narrow slits. In later times, it had only one entrance, with a draw-bridge over

the moat on the side towards the river. It was built on the line of the city walls just to the south of the Porte Saint-Antoine, which was approached over the city fosse by its own bridge.

The capture of the Bastille was regarded everywhere in France as the triumph of liberty, and joy was universal. The 14 July was declared the national holiday. A new flag, the tricolor, was adopted. It was made up of the colors of the city of Paris, red and blue, combined with the old white banner of the Bourbons. A new military force, the National Guard, was organized. Three days later the King came to Paris and formally ratified these changes.

At the same time the revolutionary movement began to spread over France. National guards were created everywhere in imitation of Paris. The peasants took matters into their own hands and made a violent war upon the Châteaux. In this way feudalism was abolished, not legally but practically, both at the capital and in rural France.

In the midst of these excesses and disorders, the middle of September 1789, Napoleon left Auxonne for Corsica. Although the revolutionary movement had as yet hardly reached there, the whole island was in a state of great political unrest. The general desire of the people was either for independence or for incorporation in the French monarchy. The patriotic party saw that their best chance for freedom lay in an alliance with the revolutionary movement in France. There were uprisings in Ajaccio, and even more desperate riotings at Bastia. The French governor was forced to hoist the tricolor over the citadel and to sanction the organization of a National Guard. Napoleon was prominent in this movement, and naturally his conduct gave offence to the authorities. The commander at Ajaccio wrote to the Minister of War in Paris that Napoleon would be much better with his regiment for "il fermente sans cesse." Yet when his leave expired it was extended on the ground of his continued ill-health. He was taking the cure at the baths of Orezza, when

Paoli once more landed in Corsica after his exile of twenty-one years. His journey through France had been a prolonged ovation. When he entered the harbor of Bastia on the 17 July he was met with salvos of artillery and cries of "Vive le père de la patrie!" He was now sixty-six years of age; a tall man, with piercing eyes, and long white hair. Napoleon lost no time in joining him, but their relations were not long harmonious. His leave soon expired, and he was only waiting for a favorable wind to embark. Owing to adverse winds he did not finally sail until the last of January, 1791.

Napoleon was back with his regiment at Auxonne in February 1791 after an absence of nearly seventeen months. He had stopped at Valence to visit some old friends, and did not reach Auxonne until the eleventh or twelfth of the month. Although he had considerably exceeded his leave and was liable to lose his pay for three months and a half, he was well received by his colonel, to whom he presented certificates from the authorities at Ajaccio which stated that his patriotism was above suspicion and that his return had been delayed by stress of weather. The Minister of War acceded to the request of his colonel that the pay which he had lost by his absence, amounting to nearly 250 francs, should be made up to him.

On his return Napoleon had brought with him his brother Louis who was then about twelve years and a half old, having been born on the 2 September 1778. Napoleon had undertaken this extra care in order to relieve to some extent the financial strain at home. There were thus two instead of one to support on his meagre pay of one hundred francs a month. It was not easy to make ends meet. In his shabby little room, there was no furniture except his bed, a table, two chairs, his portmanteau, and his papers and books. His brother slept on a mattress in a little cabinet adjoining his room. He himself prepared their frugal meals.

During his second sojourn at Auxonne, Napoleon

worked habitually fifteen or sixteen hours a day. He gave Louis lessons in mathematics and was very proud of his progress. At a later period he complained of his brother's ingratitude, and reminded him that for his sake he had deprived himself even of the necessaries of life.

In 1791, by a decrẹe of the National Assembly, the organization of the artillery was entirely changed, and this arm was separated from the infantry. The regiments lost their former names and were henceforth designated by numbers, La Fère becoming the First Regiment. Napoleon was appointed first-lieutenant of the Fourth Regiment, known formerly as the Régiment de Grenoble, now in garrison at Valence. He left Auxonne for his new post the 14 June 1791 and arrived at Valence two days later.

At Valence, he lived in his old lodgings with Mlle. Bou. Louis boarded with the landlady, who looked after him like a mother, but Napoleon took his meals at the Trois-Pigeons as before. The Abbé de Saint-Ruff was dead, but Napoleon found several old friends and made some new acquaintances. He was an ardent supporter of the Revolution, although nearly all of the officers were aristocrats, while the common soldiers were on the side of the nation.

Four days after Napoleon's arrival at Valence occurred the flight of the Royal family to Varennes, one of the most important events of the Revolution. As a result of this, all the officers were required to take an oath of allegiance to the Assembly. This oath, which had to be written out and signed by each officer, was executed by Napoleon on the sixth of July. There is no doubt that at the time he was a sincere Republican. The necessity of taking this oath had a profound effect in the army. Many officers refused to take it and at once emigrated. No less than thirty-two officers of the Fourth Regiment took this course. Many family ties were broken. The famous Desaix, who fell at Marengo, took the oath, whereas his two brothers remained faithful to the *Ancien Régime*. Sérurier, while attempting to escape into Spain, was

stopped at the frontier, and later became a Maréchal de France.

During these political excitements, Napoleon did not neglect his reading, as we know from the evidence of his note-books. The abstracts which he made are very characteristic; they are generally practical in their nature, and show a strong passion for good government. At the same time he wrote an essay in competition for a prize of 1250 francs offered by the Académie de Lyon. But he was not successful, his essay being ranked next to the last among the sixteen submitted.

Having finished his essay Napoleon applied for another leave of absence. The request having been refused by his colonel, he made a direct application to Baron du Teil, who had commanded the School at Auxonne, and was now Inspector-General of Artillery for that part of France. Napoleon paid him a visit at his château and stayed in the house several days. They discussed the art of war, and the plan for a new road from France to Italy, which was afterwards built by Napoleon. When he left, the old general said of him: "He is a man of great powers and will make a name." Finally he received a leave of three months, without deduction of pay, but was ordered to rejoin his regiment in November. In September 1791 he reached Corsica, where he remained until the following May. He was accompanied by his brother Louis.

The month after his arrival he lost his great-uncle Lucien Bonaparte, the head of the house, who had been a second father to him. The Archdeacon left a considerable sum of money, which helped to relieve the family necessities.

At this time Paoli was master of the island. As Commander of the National Guard and President of the Department, all power, both military and civil, was in his hands. He met Napoleon once, but nothing satisfactory came of the interview, and shortly afterwards Napoleon went back to France.

His presence in Paris was very necessary, for his leave

had expired and he was on the list of officers "absent without cause" from the general review of the first of January 1792. In ordinary times he probably would have been dropped from the army, but the government could not afford to be too severe. The army had lost so many officers by emigration that they were only too anxious to retain the services of all who were willing to support the Revolution. Therefore in July 1792 Napoleon was reinstated with the rank of captain.

He had reached Paris at the end of May, and the weeks which elapsed before his reinstatement in July marked the lowest ebb in his fortunes. He was obliged to pawn his watch, and might have perished of misery if he had not been lucky enough to run across his old school-boy friend Bourrienne.

During the four months that he spent at Paris, Napoleon was an eye-witness of some of the most striking events of the great drama of the Revolution. On the 20 June he saw the King appear at one of the windows of the Tuileries with the red cap of Revolution on his head while the mob surged and roared in the Gardens below. His blood boiled at the sight of these vulgar outrages, and he exclaimed: "Why don't they sweep off four or five hundred of that *canaille* with cannon? The rest would then run away fast enough." The remark was prophetic. Later, on the 10 August, he saw the attack on the Tuileries when the palace was taken and the Swiss Guard cut to pieces. At Saint Helena he told Las Cases how, at the sound of the tocsin, he ran to the Carrousel, to the furniture shop of Fauvelet, Bourrienne's brother, where he was able to observe all the events of the day. After the palace was captured and the King had taken refuge with the Assembly, in the Riding School near the present site of the Hôtel Continental, Napoleon ventured into the Gardens and was much impressed by the scenes of slaughter he saw there.

Napoleon's sister Elisa was at this time a pupil at Saint-Cyr, one of the royal schools, which was suppressed by a

decree of the 16 August. He obtained permission to escort her home, and they left Paris just after the "September Massacres" and travelled by Lyon to Marseille, reaching Ajaccio the middle of October. This was Napoleon's fifth visit home, and the first time in thirteen years that the whole family had been reunited under the same roof. Elisa was received with joy. She had excellent manners and considerable ability. Of the three sisters she is said to have been the one who both morally and physically most resembled Napoleon. When she became Grand Duchess of Tuscany she was her own Minister of Foreign Affairs, and she had much influence over Pauline and Caroline.

Napoleon, on his arrival, resumed his position of second lieutenant-colonel of volunteers, to which he had been elected on his previous visit. He was soon engaged with his volunteers in an expedition against the island of Sardinia, his first real military service. Sardinia at that time seemed disposed to throw off the Italian yoke, and the French Government decided to send an expedition to assist her. The fleet was under the command of Admiral Truguet, and the military forces of Casabianca, a brave man but absolutely incapable. Sémonville who was on his way as ambassador to Constantinople was also to assist.

Truguet arrived at Ajaccio where he was to meet Casabianca. He became very intimate with the Bonaparte family and went to their house every night to dance with the girls. He fell in love with Elisa, who indeed preferred him to Bacciochi whom she afterwards married. But nothing came of it, and Truguet often regretted in later years that he had lost his opportunity. Sémonville also stayed with the Bonapartes. He had married the widow of M. de Montholon, who had four children, two boys and two girls. Napoleon became much attached to Charles de Montholon, who afterwards accompanied him to Saint Helena. This intimacy between the two families was continued after the Italian campaigns when Madame Letitia was established at Paris with her family. Pauline

lived with Mme. Sémonville, and Louis and Jérôme Bonaparte, as well as Eugène de Beauharnais, attended the same school as Charles de Montholon. The younger members of the two families treated each other as brothers and sisters.

Truguet's squadron set sail on the 8 January 1793. In order to assist the expedition, he had formed the plan of an attack on the north of Sardinia by a small force of two hundred and fifty regulars and four hundred and fifty volunteers under the command of Colonel Cesari. Cesari left Bonifacio the 18 February, and Napoleon was with him, in command of the artillery and the volunteers.

A landing was to be made on Maddalena, the largest of the eleven islands situated in the Strait of Bonifacio between Corsica and Sardinia. Close to this is Caprera which was the residence of Garibaldi at the close of his life. At this time the islands were inhabited by a few hundred shepherds and sailors who were Corsican in language and customs. France claimed the islands on the ground that they had formerly belonged to Genoa.

The troops landed on San Stefano, a little island to the west of Maddalena, and soon reduced the square tower which was garrisoned only by twenty-five Swiss. Napoleon then built a battery, armed with a mortar and two small guns, and opened fire on the two small forts on the opposite island of Maddalena. The weather was terrible. The cold was intense, with a heavy rain and strong wind. Notwithstanding these obstacles, Napoleon hoped to be master of Maddalena on the following day. But the crew of the corvette mutinied, and threatened to set sail, leaving the soldiers to their fate. Napoleon was therefore forced to abandon the enterprise just as victory seemed certain. Whatever may be our judgment as to this unfortunate expedition, its conduct casts no reflection on the character or career of Napoleon, even if it did not add much to his military reputation.

A critical stage had now been reached in the affairs of Corsica. Paoli, who was still in control of the government,

had been turned against the Convention by the excesses of the Jacobins and was strongly suspected of English leanings. He was denounced as a traitor by Napoleon's younger brother Lucien in a speech to the Jacobin Club at Toulon, and an order for his arrest was issued from Paris. This brought matters to a crisis in Corsica, and Napoleon was soon forced to make a decision between Paoli and the Convention, and he did not hesitate. From that moment he devoted all of his energies to the overthrow of his former hero and friend. After various adventures, he engaged in an unsuccessful attempt to drive the Paoli party from Ajaccio. Convinced that there was no further hope, he sent his mother a message to prepare for flight. Under the existing conditions it was no longer possible for the Bonapartes to remain in safety on the island. They had broken with the patriotic party and cast their lot with its enemies. It was necessary for Napoleon to rejoin his regiment, so he decided to take his family with him. On the 11 June 1793 they all sailed for Toulon, where they arrived two days later, and found Lucien waiting to receive them. This was Napoleon's real farewell to his native island, although he passed a few days at Ajaccio on his return from Egypt in 1799.

As Rose points out, the interest of the events above described lies, not in their intrinsic importance, but in the signal proof which they afford of Bonaparte's wonderful endowments of mind and will. In a losing cause and in a petty sphere he displayed all the qualities which, when the omens were favorable, impelled him to the domination of a Continent.

CHAPTER THREE

1793–1795

TOULON AND VENDÉMIAIRE

L'Avènement de Bonaparte — His Personal Appearance — His Character — The Bonaparte Family — Napoleon with the Army of the South — The "Supper of Beaucaire" — The Siege of Toulon — Appointed General of Brigade— His Remembrance of Former Comrades — His High Standard of Conduct — Appointed Inspector of Coasts — Recalled and Imprisoned — Restored to His Rank — The Corsican Expedition — Ordered to Paris — Hopes and Disappointments — Paris in 1795 — Napoleon and Barras — His Plan for the Italian Campaign — His Precarious Situation — Constitution of the Year Three — Revolt of the Sections — The Thirteen Vendémiaire — Major-General Bonaparte

WE have now arrived at what Vandal calls "L'Avènement de Bonaparte" — the commencement of his career. As yet, to all outward appearance, the little captain of artillery was the same slim, ill-proportioned, and rather insignificant youth. His head was shapely, his forehead wide and of medium height. His light brown hair fell in stiff, flat locks over his lean cheeks. His eyes were large and blue-gray in color, with a penetrating glance. The nose was Roman and finely formed, the mouth small, the lips full and sensuous, the chin round and firm. His complexion was sallow. The frame of his body was small and fine, particularly his hands and feet; but his deep chest and short neck were powerful. His gait was firm and steady. His mien was generally sombre, but when he smiled and showed his beautiful teeth, and his wonderful eyes brightened, he charmed everyone, then as ever.

His career thus far had been so commonplace as to awaken little expectation for his future. His education had not gone beyond the essentials of his profession, but had been supplemented by a wide course of reading. He

could master details as no man before or since, and he had a vast fund of information at his command. His conception of men and affairs was not scientific but it was clear and practical. Up to the present time he had showed no taste for the trade of arms, the routine and petty details of which he heartily disliked. Nor had he yet given any signs of that mastery of strategy and tactics which he had derived from his study and analysis of the exploits of the great world-conquerors.

So far, he seemed a man neither much better nor much worse than the world in which he was born, but he was far greater than those about him in perspicacity, adroitness, adaptability and perseverance. As yet these qualities of leadership were scarcely recognizable, but they existed.

On their arrival at Toulon, the Bonapartes settled in the village of La Valette, at the gates of that city, but after a short stay they removed to Marseille. The life of the refugees at first was one of dire poverty. But presently brighter days dawned for them. Joseph was appointed a commissioner with the army, and Lucien a superintendent of stores. In August 1794 Joseph married Julie, the daughter of Monsieur Clary, a wealthy silk-merchant of Marseille, who had been a good friend of the family during their period of distress, and who now richly endowed his daughter. Masson states that she received a dot of 150,000 francs, a sum equivalent to a million and a half to-day. About the same time there was also some talk of a marriage between Napoleon and Désirée, another daughter, but nothing came of it, and she afterwards married Bernadotte, the future King of Sweden. Lucien, in the meanwhile, had taken as his wife Catherine Boyer, the daughter of an inn-keeper at Saint-Maximin, where he was stationed. She was absolutely illiterate, but was a young woman of excellent character and made him a good wife.

On his return from Corsica Napoleon had rejoined his

regiment at Nice, where four companies were stationed, the remainder being at the headquarters at Grenoble. Here he found in command of the artillery of the Army of Italy, Chevalier du Teil, the brother of his old friend. He attached Napoleon to the service of the coast batteries. At this time there was a general revolt in the departments of the South against the Constitution of 1793. The army of Carteaux, of which Napoleon's regiment was a part, was employed in putting down the rising. Napoleon himself was sent on various missions to Lyon, Valence, Avignon and Beaucaire. It was in the last named place that he wrote the remarkable pamphlet, "Le Souper de Beaucaire," which was printed at the public expense, and brought his name favorably to the attention of the Convention.

It purports to record a discussion between an officer (Napoleon himself), two merchants of Marseille and citizens of Nîmes and Montpellier. It urges the need of united action under the lead of the Jacobins. This is a fight to the death between French patriots and the despots of Europe. The Revolution must not be stamped out by the foreign invaders. On the ground of mere expediency men must rally to the cause of the Republic, and condone even the crimes of the Jacobins if they save the country. Better the Reign of Terror than the vengeance of the *Ancien Régime*. Such was the instinct of all men of patriotic feelings, and it saved France. As an *exposé* of keen policy and all-dominating opportunism, "Le Souper de Beaucaire" is admirable.

Shortly after its publication, Napoleon had his first real chance in active military service. Toulon, which was one of the places in revolt against the Convention, had opened its gates to the English, under Admiral Hood, and they were now in possession of the city. Carteaux was ordered to drive the enemy out, and proceeded there with his forces. Dommartin, who was in command of the artillery, was severely wounded in an early skirmish, and Napoleon was appointed to his place.

Toulon was regarded at this time as one of the strongest fortresses in the world. The place was soon closely invested by Carteaux and the supply of water cut off. There were very few cannon when Napoleon took charge, and his first care was to raise the strength of this arm.

The success of the siege depended upon the ability of the French to compel the retirement of the English fleet. Napoleon, on his arrival before the place, on the 12 September, at once saw that this could be effected by seizing the point called L'Aiguillette, which commands both the inner and outer roadsteads of Toulon. At the first council of war, he placed his finger on the military map at this point of land at the mouth of the harbor, several miles from the fortifications of the town, and said with true Napoleonic brevity: "Voilà Toulon!" But Carteaux, who was a vain, pompous man, an artist by profession, with very little knowledge of the science of war, would not recognize the importance of this position. The English, however, had become aware of their danger, and erected a fort on the summit of the promontory. Napoleon was furious, but he did not give up his idea. His activity was prodigious and he spared no efforts to get together a siege train and an adequate supply of ammunition.

Napoleon was disgusted with the slowness of the siege, which lasted over two months. At last Carteaux was recalled, and the command was given to Dugommier, with special orders to carry on the siege with vigor. He did much to reëstablish discipline. He quickly appreciated the talent of Napoleon, and took his view of the primary importance of the promontory. On the 17 December, after a bombardment of three days, the English works on the promontory were finally taken by storm. Napoleon greatly distinguished himself in the assault. The capture of L'Aiguillette decided the fate of the town. Just as Napoleon had predicted weeks before, the city of Toulon fell without receiving a shot. The English fleet at once set sail, after blowing up the magazines, and on the 19

December the French entered the town. General du Teil wrote to Aubry, the Minister of War: "I have no words to describe the merit of Bonaparte: much science, as much intelligence, and too much bravery. This is but a feeble sketch of the qualities of this rare officer, and it is for you, Minister, to consecrate him to the service of the Republic." Napoleon had been named chef de bataillon the 29 September, promoted to adjudant général chef de brigade the 27 October, and on the 22 December he received his provisional appointment as général de brigade, which was confirmed by the Government on the 7 January 1794.

"To have been at Toulon" was always a passport to Napoleon's generosity. Even Carteaux received a pension of 6000 francs. Victor, Suchet and Marmont became Marshals of France and were loaded with titles and honors. Desaix, whom Napoleon called the greatest of his generals, would certainly have been included in the list but for his untimely death at Marengo before the dawn of the Empire. Muiron was made an aide de camp the same day as Duroc, and was Napoleon's chief of staff in Italy. He fell at Arcole, in saving the life of his chief. The story of how Junot first attracted Napoleon's attention at Toulon is too well known to repeat here. He also became an aide de camp and a duke.

"Such was the young Napoleon," says Browning, "at an age when young Englishmen are just taking their degree. Born of a noble family but very poor, losing his father at an early age, with nothing but himself to depend upon, he had raised himself to the rank of general in the French army by no other arts than those of industry and steadfastness, high character and devotion to duty, supported, no doubt, by talents almost without example. In these first twenty-three years of his life there is not a single example of meanness or of dishonesty, or of any derogation from the high standard of conduct which he had set before himself. . . . Surely, in his case also, the youth is father of the man; and twenty-three years spent

under the most difficult circumstances which could try the qualities of a character, crowned by high success legitimately gained, are not likely to have been followed by twenty-three other years stained by universal ambition, reckless duplicity, and an aimless lust of bloodshed."

The promotion of Napoleon meant a large increase in pay. As general of brigade he received a salary of 15,000 francs a year, and in addition he had the right to lodging and rations. In January 1794 he was appointed Inspector of Coasts, with headquarters at Nice. His mother was settled at Antibes a few miles away. At this moment when for the first time the future seemed clear, a terrible blow fell upon him. On the 9 Thermidor, 27 July 1794, the dictatorship of Robespierre came to an end. This meant disaster for all who were known to have been friends of the dictator, and Napoleon's relations with the younger Robespierre were a matter of common knowledge. He was denounced as a traitor, and on the 10 August was arrested and imprisoned in Fort Carré near Antibes. An examination of his papers, which had been seized, failed to reveal any grounds for the charges against him, and after thirteen days he was released.

A few weeks later, on the 14 September, he was restored to his rank of general, and the same month took part in the operations of the Army of Italy which drove the Austrians from the crest of the mountains of the Riviera. He was then appointed to the command of the artillery in the expedition for the reconquest of Corsica, which was in the full possession of the English. The French navy, however, was in such wretched condition that the ships were not ready to sail before the month of March 1795, and then an encounter with the English fleet resulted disastrously. Two of the ships were captured and the remainder took refuge in the Golfe Juan. After this the expedition was abandoned. The troops already on board the transports were disembarked and detailed to the Army of Italy. Corsica was, for the moment, lost.

Napoleon now received orders to take command of the artillery of the Army of the West which was to subdue the royalist uprising in La Vendée. Accompanied by his aides de camp, Marmont and Junot, as also by his young brother Louis, he set out for Paris in May 1795. He was not at all pleased with the assignment, which held out little prospect for military glory, but on his arrival in Paris he found even more disagreeable orders awaiting him. The Minister of War, Aubry, had transferred him from the artillery to the infantry, on account of his youth. "One grows old quickly on the field of battle," was Napoleon's retort to the minister, who had never seen a day of active service.

At that time Napoleon had the notion that any other service than the artillery was unworthy of him. Later when he had had experience in command of an army he saw that such specialization was not for the best interests of great operations, and that no matter what brilliancy artillery officers may show, they have rarely, perhaps never, the true *esprit militaire*. He became so convinced of this fact that in his first promotion of marshals of the Empire, he included no officer of artillery, and if later he gave to Marmont this high dignity, it was only through favor and on account of old friendship.

However, Napoleon had no wish to break with the minister over this matter, and was not foolish enough to resign. He simply pleaded ill-health as an excuse for not accepting the assignment, and lingered in Paris, hoping that something favorable might turn up.

Ambitious, and fully conscious of his abilities and qualifications, it is not strange that Napoleon should have felt chagrined over the assignment. At the head of the Army of the North, Pichegru, who had been one of his masters at Brienne, had driven the enemy out of northern France and was conquering the Low Countries. Jourdan, in command of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse, on the 26 June 1794 had defeated the Austrians in the battle of Fleurus. In December of the preceding year,

Hoche, a man of his own age, had driven the Austrians out of Alsace, and covered himself with glory. Saint-Cyr, a captain of volunteers in 1792, was now a general of division. Bernadotte, sergeant-major at the beginning of the Revolution, also commanded a division. Kléber, a volunteer three years before, had also reached the same rank; and so on. But notwithstanding Napoleon's disappointment, in reality Fortune never favored him more than when she removed him from the coast of Provence and brought him to the centre of all influence at Paris, where an able schemer could decide the fate of parties and governments.

At the time of Napoleon's arrival in Paris in the early summer of 1795, the city was just beginning to resume the customs and pleasures of the *ancien régime*, and the Terror was remembered only as a hideous nightmare. Gay equipages were again seen in the streets; theatres were crowded; gambling pervaded all classes of society. Men who had grown rich by speculation in the confiscated State lands now vied with bankers and brokers in vulgar ostentation.

The passing of the dark days of the Revolution was also being furthered by the unparalleled series of military triumphs. France had practically gained her "natural boundaries," the Rhine and the Alps. In quick succession one government after another sued for peace: Tuscany in February; Prussia in April; Hanover, Westphalia and Saxony in May; Spain and Hesse-Cassel in July; Switzerland and Denmark in August. Such was the state of France when Napoleon came to seek his fortunes in the capital.

At this time Napoleon formed a close relationship with Barras, who had been brought into prominence by the events of the 9 Thermidor. As he afterwards explained at Saint Helena: "Robespierre was dead; Barras was playing a rôle of importance; and I had to attach myself to somebody or something."

The career of Barras deserves a few words of notice. Paul Barras was born in Provence in 1755 of a good

family. In his youth he served as a lieutenant against the British in India. In 1789 he was a member of the States-General, and took an active part in the storming of the Bastille and the Tuileries. The siege of Toulon owed its success largely to his activity and energy. The overthrow of Robespierre, which ended the Terror, was accomplished mainly by him. On subsequent occasions, as President of the Convention, he acted with decision both against the intrigues of the Royalists and the excesses of the Jacobins. But the chief chance for immortality of the name of Barras lies in the fact that he was "privileged to hold the stirrup for the great captain who vaulted lightly into the saddle."

Probably through the influence of Barras, Napoleon was instructed at this time to prepare a plan for the campaign of the French army in Italy. The plans which he now submitted were essentially the same which he had prepared a year before at the request of Robespierre, but modified by the changes in the general political situation. In April 1795, Prussia had retired from the contest and made a separate treaty of peace with France. Negotiations were also under way with Spain which were soon to lead to peace. The only remaining adversary of any importance on the Continent was Austria, and Napoleon proposed to attack her in Italy. The Riviera having been seized and secured, the Army of Italy, reinforced by the troops set free by the peace with Spain, would march along the coast and across the mountains into Piedmont, cut off the King of Sardinia from the Austrians, and make a separate peace with that monarch, who was known to be favorable to France. Once in the fertile plains of Northern Italy, the army could draw its supplies from the country. Such was the striking plan which a year later he himself was to carry into execution, thereby gaining undying fame.

Notwithstanding the favor of Barras, Napoleon's affairs were again at low ebb. On the 15 September his name was stricken from the list of generals on active service

on the ground that he had refused to accept the post to which he had been appointed. He was forced to sell his books; to ask the assistance of his brother Joseph; and to borrow money from the actor Talma.

At this moment there came a most dramatic change in his fortunes. The promulgation of the new Constitution of the Year Three of the Republic had been followed by an open revolt of the Sections and all Paris was soon in a state of insurrection.

The new constitution was moderate in character and was designed to put an end forever to the Reign of Terror. The executive and legislative powers were no longer to be united in the National Assembly. The executive authority was to be vested in a "Directory" of five men, while the legislative power was to be confided to two chambers instead of one: a "Council of Ancients" and a "Council of Five Hundred." The five Directors were to be chosen by the Ancients from a list drawn up by the Five Hundred, and were to have charge respectively of Foreign Affairs, Finance, War, Justice, and the Interior.

The new constitution was satisfactory neither to the extreme Radicals nor to the Royalists, who were already talking of restoring the monarchy. To protect themselves against a probable attack from the Paris populace, the Government ordered to the capital a few thousand troops of the line. This precaution inflamed the wrath of the Parisians who were opposed to the Convention. All but four of the forty-eight sections of the city revolted, assembled some 30,000 troops of the National Guard, and on the fourth of October successfully resisted General Menou, in command of the forces of the Convention.

The Convention was in a panic, and turned to Barras, who was put in supreme command. But Barras was not a military man, and he had sense enough to know it. In his dilemma he thought of the young artillery officer who had distinguished himself at Toulon. He was a Corsican, and it was not likely therefore that he would have any

sympathy with the enemies of the Convention. Barras sent for General Bonaparte and offered him the active command of the forces of the Convention, which he at once accepted.

The National Guard outnumbered the troops of the Convention by more than five to one, but they had no cannon. Everything depended therefore upon getting the ordnance from the artillery park at Sablons to the Tuileries. This task was entrusted by Napoleon to his future brother-in-law, Murat, a dashing cavalry officer, who carried it out successfully. Murat and his men rushed to the camp outside the city at full speed, drove back the insurgents who were trying to seize the cannon, and dragged them to the Tuileries, where they arrived at six o'clock in the morning. Neither the little general nor the dashing cavalier at the moment dreamed that this exploit was to win for each of them a crown!

The cannon were placed at every point of vantage in the streets approaching the Tuileries, where the Convention was sitting. A little later in the morning the insurgents advanced to the attack. It was the 5 October, or the 13 Vendémiaire by the revolutionary calendar, a date ever memorable in the history of Napoleon and in the annals of France. When the insurgents saw the preparations made to receive them, they hesitated to attack. Suddenly a shot was fired which gave the signal for battle. As the police reports on the occurrences of this day are missing from the archives of Paris, it will never be known from which side this shot came. At once the streets were raked by the cannon of the Convention and the strong position held by the insurgents at the church of Saint-Roch was carried. During the afternoon and evening the National Guards were driven back to the most remote quarters of the city where they were easily captured and disarmed on the following day. This is what Carlyle, in his vivid but inaccurate way, calls the "whiff of grapeshot which ended the French Revolution." After years of tumult, Paris had met its master. But the Revolution was not

ended: it was to be perpetuated in a more orderly form of government.

Napoleon had saved the Convention and the Convention showed its gratitude. He was appointed general of division and second in command of the Army of the Interior, and on the 26 October he became the commander of the same army, when Barras assumed the position of Director in the new government.

In a few weeks Napoleon had reached one of the highest military positions in France. In a letter to Joseph on the day after 13 Vendémiaire he said, "Fortune is on my side." From that time on his confidence in his star never wavered.

CHAPTER FOUR

1796

JOSÉPHINE

Napoleon in Command of the Army of the Interior — First Meeting with Joséphine — Her Origin — The Taschers and the Beauharnais — Birth and Childhood of Joséphine — Alexandre de Beauharnais — His Childhood — His Marriage with Joséphine — Births of Eugène and Hortense — The Separation — Joséphine at Fontainebleau and Paris — Arrest of Alexandre and Joséphine — Alexandre Executed — Joséphine Released — Her Precarious Existence — The Hôtel Chantereine — Joséphine's Personal Appearance — Napoleon's Courtship — Joséphine's Hesitation — The Marriage — Wrath of the Bonapartes — Joséphine Described by Contemporaries

AS commander of the Army of the Interior, Napoleon had become one of the dominant men of the State. He took up suitable quarters in the Rue des Capucines, surrounded himself with a brilliant staff, donned a handsome uniform, set up carriages and horses, and made his appearance in society.

He did not affiliate with any clique or faction, but made friends in all parties. He thoroughly reorganized the Army of the Interior and the National Guard, and formed a guard for the Directory.

At the same time he did not forget his family. Uncle Fesch became his secretary; Joseph was promised a consulship and Lucien a lucrative position. Louis was made a lieutenant, and Jérôme was placed at school in Paris. His mother was well provided for. He never could do too much for his family, who, almost without exception, repaid him with the basest ingratitude.

During the month of October 1795, a short time after the events of the 13 Vendémiaire, chance brought together General Bonaparte and Vicomtesse de Beauharnais.

The story has been often told, and as often denied, but it is too good not to be true.

As Général en second of the Army of the Interior, Napoleon had ordered the disarmament of the Parisians. One morning a young boy presented himself at headquarters to ask permission to keep his father's sword. Bonaparte saw the lad, became interested in him, and granted his request. Of course the mother of Eugène had to call on the general to express her thanks. She was a lady, a *grande dame*, a former vicomtesse, the widow of a President of the Constitutional Convention, of a General-in-chief of the Army of the Rhine. All this meant much to Bonaparte: the title, the social position, the noble air with which she expressed her gratitude. For the first time this young Corsican found himself in the presence of a real lady of high society. Joséphine, with her worldly experience, at once perceives what an impression she has made. She invites Napoleon to call some evening when he has nothing better to do. The next evening he rings at the porte-cochère of the hôtel in the Rue Chantereine, soon to be named in his honor Rue de la Victoire. The door is opened by the concierge, and the general passes through the long corridor, traverses the small garden and enters the house, where he is conducted to the little salon, which is also the dining-room. The room is furnished only with a round mahogany table, and four chairs covered with black horse-hair. On the walls are hung a few prints framed in dark wood. While he is waiting for the mistress of the mansion to appear, let us briefly review the past history of Joséphine, of which he knows nothing.

In 1726 there landed at Martinique a French nobleman, Gaspard-Joseph Tascher de la Pagerie, who, like many others, came to seek his fortune. There in 1734 he married a young woman of noble family, by whom he had five children, two sons and three daughters.

In 1756 the King had need in the Antilles of a man of energy, and the first of November he named to the place

of governor and lieutenant-general of Martinique and the other islands, François de Beauharnais, who was not created a marquis until eight years later.

Except for the fact that both families originally came from the same locality in France, near Blois, there was little in common between this *grand seigneur* who arrived as master in the lands of his government, wealthy with his income of 150,000 livres, and these Taschers who were living in want in a corner of the island, without position, without fortune, buried in debt.

A little later, the eldest daughter of Gaspard-Joseph entered the household of the governor as an upper servant, or *demoiselle de compagnie.* In a very short time she had gained a dominant position in the family, which was not lessened by her marriage later with a Monsieur Renaudin.

In 1761, the elder son of the original Tascher, named Joseph-Gaspard, born in 1735, married Rose-Claire des Vergers de Saunois, of a family belonging to the *ancienne noblesse* of Brie. From this marriage there was born on the 23 June 1763 a daughter who was named Marie-Joseph-Rose. This was Joséphine. Like her future husband, Napoleon, she had a narrow escape from not being born under the French flag. Only ten days before her birth the island of Martinique had been returned to France by England in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Paris which ended the Seven Years' War.

Until the age of ten years Joséphine grew up in full liberty. Then she was sent to the *pension* of the Dames de la Providence at Fort-Royal, where she remained over four years.

When François de Beauharnais landed as governor on the island of Martinique in May 1757 he was accompanied by his young wife, whom he had married six years before. She was his cousin, and had brought him a large fortune. They had had two children, of whom only one was then living, François, born the preceding year. On the 28 May 1760 another son was born on the island who received

the name of Alexandre. When his father and mother returned to France in the month of April of the following year he was left in the care of Madame Tascher. Here he remained for several years, and it was not until after the death of his mother that his father had him brought to France, about the end of the year 1769. With his brother he was sent to the University of Heidelberg where he remained two years. In 1774, his brother having entered the army, his tutor Patricol was engaged by the Duc de la Rochefoucauld as teacher for the two sons of his sister, Rohan-Chabot, and he took Alexandre with him. Thus it happened that the most impressionable years of his youth were passed at Roche-Guyon, in a ducal château. During these years, Madame Renaudin, who was his god-mother, never lost sight of him.

At the age of seventeen Alexandre obtained by the favor of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld an appointment as sous-lieutenant in his regiment of the Sarre-infanterie. On entering the army he abandoned the title of chevalier, given at that time to the younger sons of noble families, and assumed that of vicomte, to which he had no valid claim. At this time Madame Renaudin formed a plan for his marriage with her niece Joséphine. The Marquis did not demand that M. de la Pagerie should furnish a dot, as Alexandre already had an income of 40,000 livres from the estate of his mother, with the expectation of 25,000 more.

In October 1779 Madame Renaudin received a letter from her brother saying that he had just arrived at Brest with Joséphine after a terrible passage. She at once set out with Alexandre to join them. This was the first interview between Joséphine and her future husband since their childhood days, and he was far from enthusiastic over her appearance.

The party travelled slowly to Paris, where they arrived the middle of November. The marriage was celebrated on the 13 December in the church at Noisy-le-Grand, where Mme. Renaudin had a house. This residence, for

which she had paid 33,000 livres three years before, she gave to her niece as a wedding present, besides the sum of 20,000 livres which she had spent for her trousseau.

Immediately after the marriage the young couple went to live in the Paris hôtel of the Marquis, Rue Thévenot. In the spring Alexandre rejoined his regiment at Brest, leaving Joséphine alone in Paris, where she had no acquaintances. When his regiment was ordered to Verdun, Alexandre returned to Paris, where he lived like a bachelor, making no effort to introduce his wife to society. In fact Joséphine was never presented at Court. Her husband seems to have been ashamed of her. He found her awkward, embarrassed, ignorant; worse than that, he thought she was homely and provincial, with foolish ideas of conjugal love, tenderness, and jealousy. He had married to be free to enjoy his fortune, and he had no idea of being tied down by his wife.

On the 3 September 1781, in the Rue Thévenot, was born a son who was named Eugène, and on the 10 April 1783, a daughter, who was baptized the following day, and received the name of Hortense-Eugénie. The previous September, Alexandre had sailed for Martinique as aide de camp of M. de Bouillé. During the four years and over of his married life, he had not spent ten months with his wife. On receipt of the news of the birth of Hortense, he wrote a furious letter to Joséphine in which he refused to accept any responsibility for the paternity of the child. On his return to France in October 1784, he declined to meet his wife. After a number of vain efforts to arrive at a reconciliation, in the month of November, Joséphine retired with Mme. Renaudin to the Abbaye de Panthemont, Rue de Grenelle.

Masson is of the opinion that Alexandre had no reason to reproach Joséphine for any acts subsequent to their marriage and that his imputation upon the subject of the birth of Hortense had no foundation in fact. This opinion seems to be borne out by the terms of the formal act of separation which was signed in March 1785. He agreed

to give his wife an allowance of 5000 livres a year, to leave Hortense with her mother, and also Eugène until he was five years old, and to pay for the education of his daughter.

The sojourn of Joséphine at Panthemont was of great advantage to her in every way. The Abbaye was like an immense furnished hôtel, of the highest respectability, open only to women of "la première distinction," and there Joséphine for the first time had an opportunity of meeting women of her own social rank. She was received as the Vicomtesse de Beauharnais, an unfortunate, irreproachable young woman, the victim of a barbarous husband.

For a woman of the world, Joséphine already possessed two of the essential requisites: she was a coquette and she knew how to lie. Without admitting the justice of the accusation of her husband, in these two respects he undoubtedly had a serious grievance against her. And to these two qualities, Joséphine adds, by the faculty of assimilation which is in her, that physical education which in a new society is to put her in a class by herself. Little by little a transformation is effected in her personality, which changes the heavy and awkward Creole into a being delicate and *souple*, a being desirable above all, who knows how to attract and to hold. It is thus at Panthemont that Joséphine forms her first relations with society, that she makes her début in French life. From every point of view this retreat of fifteen months was profitable to her.

On leaving Panthemont early in 1786 Joséphine, at twenty-three years of age, found herself free, with an income of 11,000 livres for the support of her daughter and herself. At this time she sold the house at Noïsy, and with the proceeds she bought at Fontainebleau a little house *entre cour et jardin*, where she established herself with her aunt. Here she lived until June 1788, when she suddenly left for Martinique. None of her biographers has ever been able to find a reason for this departure. At the beginning of November 1790 she re-

turned as unexpectedly as she had left, and went to the Hôtel des Asturies, Rue d'Anjou. At this time she seems to have made another attempt at reconciliation with her husband, but without success.

The Marquis and Mme. Renaudin being still at Fontainebleau, Joséphine passed the summer of 1791 there with her children, and it was there that she learned of the election of her husband as President of the Constitutional Convention. It was the 18 June, and three days later the President in opening the session announced the flight of the Royal family, the previous night. During the two following weeks Alexandre de Beauharnais was virtually dictator of France.

In 1792 he served with distinction with the Army of the North, and early in the following year was put in command of the Army of the Rhine. A few months later he was removed on the ground of lack of force and energy.

In the meantime, Joséphine was living in her apartment in Paris, Rue Saint-Dominique, except when visiting her aunt at Fontainebleau.

In March 1794, Alexandre, who had been living in retirement in the country, was arrested and taken to the Carmes where he was imprisoned on the fourteenth. Five weeks later, Joséphine was confined in the same prison. The old convent of the church of Saint-Joseph des Carmes is still standing in the Rue Vaugirard between the Luxembourg and the Théâtre de l'Odéon. On the 23 July, Alexandre was guillotined. Four days later, 9 Thermidor, the fall of Robespierre ended the Reign of Terror. The life of Joséphine was saved by this narrow margin of time: in two weeks she was released from prison.

During the following year, the fortunes of Joséphine were at their lowest ebb. When she left the prison of the Carmes, she found herself a widow of over thirty years, with two children and without a sou. With the small remittances which she received from Martinique, with money which she borrowed on every side, with bills

which she contracted everywhere, she somehow managed to exist.

In August 1795, when her affairs were still in this precarious condition, she leased from Julie Carreau, the wife of Talma, from whom she was separated, for a rent of 10,000 francs in assignats a little hôtel *entre cour et jardin* at Number 6, Rue Chantereine, a short street recently laid out from the Faubourg Montmartre to the Chaussée d'Antin. The street was lined with the residences of *filles entretenues*.

As this little hôtel was afterwards the residence of Napoleon, until he took possession of the Tuileries as First Consul in 1800, and was also occupied by Louis and Hortense the first year of their married life, it merits a few words of description. The entrance was by a porte-cochère through a long corridor, at the end of which was a very small garden, with two small pavilions which contained the carriage-house and stable. In the middle was the little mansion, consisting only of a *rez-de-chaussée* with an attic above and kitchen and cellar below. There were only five rooms: an antechamber, a bed-room, a salon, which also served as a dining-room, another little salon which was used as a boudoir, and a *garde-robe*. The servants' quarters were in the attic.

Joséphine had a carriage and two horses. In her service, besides the coachman, she had a chef and a femme de chambre.

At this time Hortense was sent to the school which Madame Campan had just founded at Saint-Germain. It is not easy to understand, however, why she took Eugène away from General Hoche, who desired to keep him, and placed him in an expensive school just opened at Saint-Germain under the name of the Collège Irlandais.

Before taking possession of her new house the first of October 1795, Joséphine had spent a very considerable sum in repairing and adding to the furniture in her apartment of the Rue Saint-Dominique: nothing very luxurious perhaps, but articles which had to be paid for. Who

met the bills? Barras, in his "Memoirs," does not hesitate to state, most ungallantly, that Joséphine was his mistress. But Barras was a notorious liar, and he hated Napoleon and could not say anything too mean about him. We will therefore give Joséphine the benefit of the doubt.

When Joséphine first met Napoleon, in October 1795, she was already thirty-two years of age. Her hair, which was not thick, but fine in quality, was of a dark chestnut color. Her complexion was brunette. Her skin was already wrinkled, but so covered with powder and rouge that the fact was not apparent under a subdued light. Her teeth were bad, but no one ever saw them. Her very small mouth was never more than slightly opened, in a sweet smile which accorded perfectly with the infinite softness of her eyes with their long eyelashes, with the tender expression of her features, with the touching quality of her voice. "Et avec cela" writes one of her historians, "un petit nez fringant, léger, mobile, aux narines perpétuellement battantes, un nez un peu relevé du bout, engageant et fripon, qui provoque le désir."

Her head however could not be mentioned in comparison with her body, so free and so svelte, which showed no signs of embonpoint, which ended in the most adorable little feet. She wore no corset, not even a *brassière* "pour soutenir la gorge, d'ailleurs bas placée et plate." But her general demeanor was more important than all the rest. This woman has a way of carrying herself which belongs only to her. "Elle a de la grâce même en se couchant." All her movements are so gracious and elegant that you forget that she is only of medium stature.

With all these qualities, the *femme* seduced Napoleon at their first interview, while at the same time the *dame* impressed him by her air of dignity, as he put it, "ce maintien calme et noble de l'ancienne société française."

This first call was quickly followed by another, and soon Napoleon was a daily visitor at the little hôtel. There he met many *grands seigneurs*, such as Ségur,

EMPRESS JOSÉPHINE

Montesquiou, and Caulaincourt, who treated him, "petit noble," as an equal, almost as a comrade. He was not enough of a man of the world to appreciate the fact that they came *en garçon*, that they did not bring their wives.

The siege was not long. Two weeks after the first visit, Napoleon and Joséphine were already on more than intimate terms. On the 28 October she wrote him:

"Vous ne venez plus voir une amie qui vous aime; vous l'avez tout a fait délaissée, vous avez bien tort, car elle vous est tendrement attachée.

"Venez demain déjeuner avec moi, j'ai besoin de vous voir et de causer avec vous sur vos intérêts.

"Bonsoir, mon ami, je vous embrasse.

"Veuve Beauharnais."

From this time on, Napoleon follows Joséphine everywhere. He makes the acquaintance of Madame Tallien; as soon as Barras is installed in the Luxembourg, in November, he attends the first reception of the new Director.

In the meantime events have moved fast. He writes her:

"I awake full of thoughts of thee. Sweet and incomparable Joséphine, what a strange effect you have on my heart! I draw from your lips, from your heart, a scorching flame. In three hours I shall see thee. In the meantime, my dear love (*mio dolce amor*), a thousand kisses, but do not give me any, for they set my blood on fire."

In January 1796, the anniversary of the execution of the "last king of France," Barras gives a grand dinner. There are ladies present: Mme. de Beauharnais, Mme. Tallien, Mme. de Carvoisin. Bonaparte is a guest and is full of life and gaiety, and seems to greatly please the ladies. Poor little Hortense, whom they had taken from school for this occasion, was present at the dinner, and seems to have been jealous of the attentions to her mother of the little general, whose name she did not even know. She said, "Il parlait avec feu et paraissait uniquement occupé de ma mère."

It is impossible to say at exactly what date Napoleon conceived the idea of transforming "en mariage cette bonne fortune." For her part, Joséphine took time to make up her mind.

In a letter to a friend she admits that she does not really love Napoleon, but that she does not feel any aversion toward him; her feeling is rather that of indifference. "I admire the General's courage," she continues, "the extent of his knowledge upon all sorts of topics, upon all of which he talks equally well, the vivacity of his mind, which enables him to grasp the thoughts of others almost before they have been expressed, but I am frightened, I admit, at the control he tries to exercise over everything about him. His searching glance has something unusual and inexplicable in it, but which compels the respect even of our Directors; judge for yourself whether a woman has not good cause to feel intimidated by it! Finally, that which ought to please me, the force of his passion, which he expresses with an energy which leaves no room for doubt of his sincerity, is precisely that which makes me withhold the consent which I have often been ready to give. Can I, a woman whose youth is past, hope to hold for any length of time this violent affection which in the General resembles a fit of delirium? If, after our marriage, he should cease to love me, will he not reproach me with what he has done for me? Will he not regret having failed to make a more advantageous marriage? And what answer can I make then? What will there be for me to do? Tears will be my only resource."

Joséphine consulted all of her society friends. They told her that Bonaparte had genius and that he would go far; that Carnot made no secret of his intention to give him the command of an army. Still she hesitated. She was thirty-two years of age. She was faded. She was almost an old woman. She liked Napoleon, but she was not in love with him. In fact she never really loved anybody but herself. But she was at the end of her resources,

and marriage seemed to be the only way out of her troubles. She finally reached a decision the last of February.

Nevertheless, she has precautions to take: first of all to conceal her age, for she does not wish to admit to anyone, least of all to this boy of twenty-six, that she has passed the age of thirty-two years. From Calmelot, her man of confidence, she obtains a certificate that he is well acquainted with Marie-Joseph Tascher, veuve du citoyen Beauharnais, that she is a native of the island of Martinique, and that on account of the present occupation of the island by the English it is impossible to procure her birth certificate! Armed with this notarial certificate, Joséphine is able to declare that she was born 23 June 1767, while she was really born four years earlier.

The marriage contract was dated the 8 March 1796, and the marriage was celebrated the following day before a civil officer. Among the four witnesses were Barras and Tallien. No mention was made of the consent of the parents; they had not been consulted.

Two days later General Bonaparte left alone to take command of the Army of Italy. "Heureusement, on avait pris des avances sur la lune de miel."

It is easier to imagine than to describe the fury of the Bonaparte family when they heard of the marriage of Napoleon. He had anticipated the storm, for he had not asked the consent of his mother; he had not written Joseph, and he had sent Lucien and Louis away from Paris. He had not asked the advice of any of his friends and had invited none of them to the wedding.

From the first day, even before they had met Joséphine, the Bonaparte family declared a *vendetta* against the Beauharnais. From that moment Napoleon lived in the midst of two hostile camps, always ready to break out into active hostilities.

It may be interesting to read the opinion of some of her contemporaries regarding Joséphine. To the captivating charm of her person all witnesses testify. Even Lucien, who was not particularly well-disposed toward her, had to admit this. In his "Mémoires" he gives us the following picture:

"Hardly to be noticed in the midst of this circle of pretty women, generally reputed to be of easy morals, is the widow of the Vicomte de Beauharnais. With little, very little wit, she had no trace of what could be called beauty, but there were certain Creole characteristics in the pliant undulations of her figure which was rather below the average height. Her face was without natural freshness, it is true, but the artifices of the toilet remedied this defect so as to make it appear fairly well by the light of the chandeliers. In short, her person was not entirely bereft of some of the attractions of her youth."

Arnault, in his "Souvenirs d'un Sexagénaire," does her better justice. He says: "The evenness of her disposition, her good-nature, the amiability that shone in her eye and which expressed itself not only in her words but in the tones of her voice, a certain indolence peculiar to Creoles which was recognizable in her carriage and movements even when she was making an effort to please, all these lent to her a charm which transcended the dazzling beauty of her two rivals Mesdames Récamier and Tallien."

Madame de Rémusat, who had known Joséphine since 1793, gives perhaps the most accurate description of her friend in these words: "Without being precisely beautiful, her whole person was possessed of a peculiar charm. Her features were delicate and harmonious, her expression gentle, her tiny mouth dexterously concealed defective teeth; her somewhat dark complexion was improved by her clever use of cosmetics. Her figure was perfect, every outline well rounded and graceful; every motion was easy and elegant. Her taste in dress was excellent, and whatever she wore seemed to have its beauty

enhanced. With these advantages and her constant care for her appearance, she succeeded in being never outshone by the beauty and youth of so many women around her. She was not a person of especial wit; a Creole and coquette, her education had been rather neglected; but she knew wherein she was wanting, and never betrayed her ignorance. Naturally tactful, she found it easy to say agreeable things. . . ."

Very different was the impression which she produced upon Napoleon. "I was not insensible to the charms of women," he said later at Saint Helena, "but my disposition made me timid in their company. Madame de Beauharnais was the first to reassure me. She said some flattering things to me about my military talents. That praise intoxicated me; I addressed myself continually to her; I followed her everywhere; I was passionately in love with her, and my infatuation was generally known among our acquaintances long before I ventured to declare myself to her. When this rumor became general, Barras spoke to me about it. I had no reason for denying it. 'If that is the case,' he said to me 'you ought to marry Madame de Beauharnais. You have rank and talents to be turned to good account, but you stand alone, without fortune and without connections; you must marry; that will give you position.'"

This advice of Barras accorded so well with Napoleon's inclinations that he made no further attempt to suppress his passion. He felt that this union with a lady of rank, a friend of the influential Director, would strengthen his social position and further his ambition. Napoleon was never a man to let his heart run away with his head. In this case, love and ambition were in perfect accord.

CHAPTER FIVE

1796

THE CAMPAIGN OF ITALY

Bonaparte in Command of the Army of Italy — Condition of the Peninsula — Situation of the Two Armies — Napoleon's Plan of Action — Battles of Montenotte and Mondovi — Peace with Piedmont — Napoleon's Proclamations — Crossing of the Po — Battle of Lodi — Entrance into Milan — Advance to the Mincio — The Famous Quadrilateral — Siege of Mantua — Castiglione and Lonato — The French in the Tyrol — Battle of Bassano — Repulse at Caldiero — Battle of Arcole — Consummate Leadership of Bonaparte

TWO weeks before Napoleon's wedding he had been appointed to the command of the Army of Italy. It has generally been assumed that there was some connection between these two events, mainly due to a letter in which Joséphine says, "Barras assures me that if I marry the General he will obtain for him the chief command of the Army of Italy." Barras also states that the command was in fact given by him to Napoleon as a wedding gift to Joséphine! But this assertion is absolutely false. The appointment was in reality made by the great Carnot, and Barras and the three other Directors simply gave their approval.

There were two main reasons why this important command was given to Bonaparte. In the first place, the Directors were afraid of him and were anxious to get him away from Paris. It is true that he had saved the Convention and so earned their gratitude, but he was now commander of the Army of the Interior, and the soldiers were devoted to him. The cannon which he had used so effectively against the Sections might just as easily be turned against the Directors. In the second place, the military conditions in Italy were bad, and the posi-

tion of the French Army was critical. It was thought that only Bonaparte could save the situation.

It will be remembered that the previous year Napoleon had drawn up a plan for the campaign of Italy. At that time, his plan had been contemptuously rejected by the two French generals in command in Italy. Kellermann had said that it was the work of a lunatic, and Schérer had remarked that the fool who proposed such an impossible scheme ought to be sent to carry it out. Carnot had seen and studied this masterly plan and had become convinced of the strategic genius of its author. So Bonaparte owed his appointment, not to a disgraceful intrigue, but to his own commanding powers.

Napoleon only spent forty-eight hours with his bride before leaving for the army, and during most of this time he was shut up in his room with the maps of Italy before him. The 11 March he left Paris accompanied by his aides de camp, Junot, Marmont, Berthier, Murat and Duroc. He carried with him 48,000 francs in gold, a small sum for the succor of an army which for a long time had been in want of nearly everything. He stopped a night with the father of Marmont at Châtillon-sur-Seine, where he wrote his first letter to Joséphine. At every relay he wrote her again. It is doubtful if any woman ever received such fiery love-letters as those of Napoleon to Joséphine at this time. He adored her, while she was only moderately touched by his ardor. She must have had trouble in reading his effusions, for as she afterwards remarked to the Marquise de La Tour du Pin, "I cannot make out his letters; he writes like a cat."

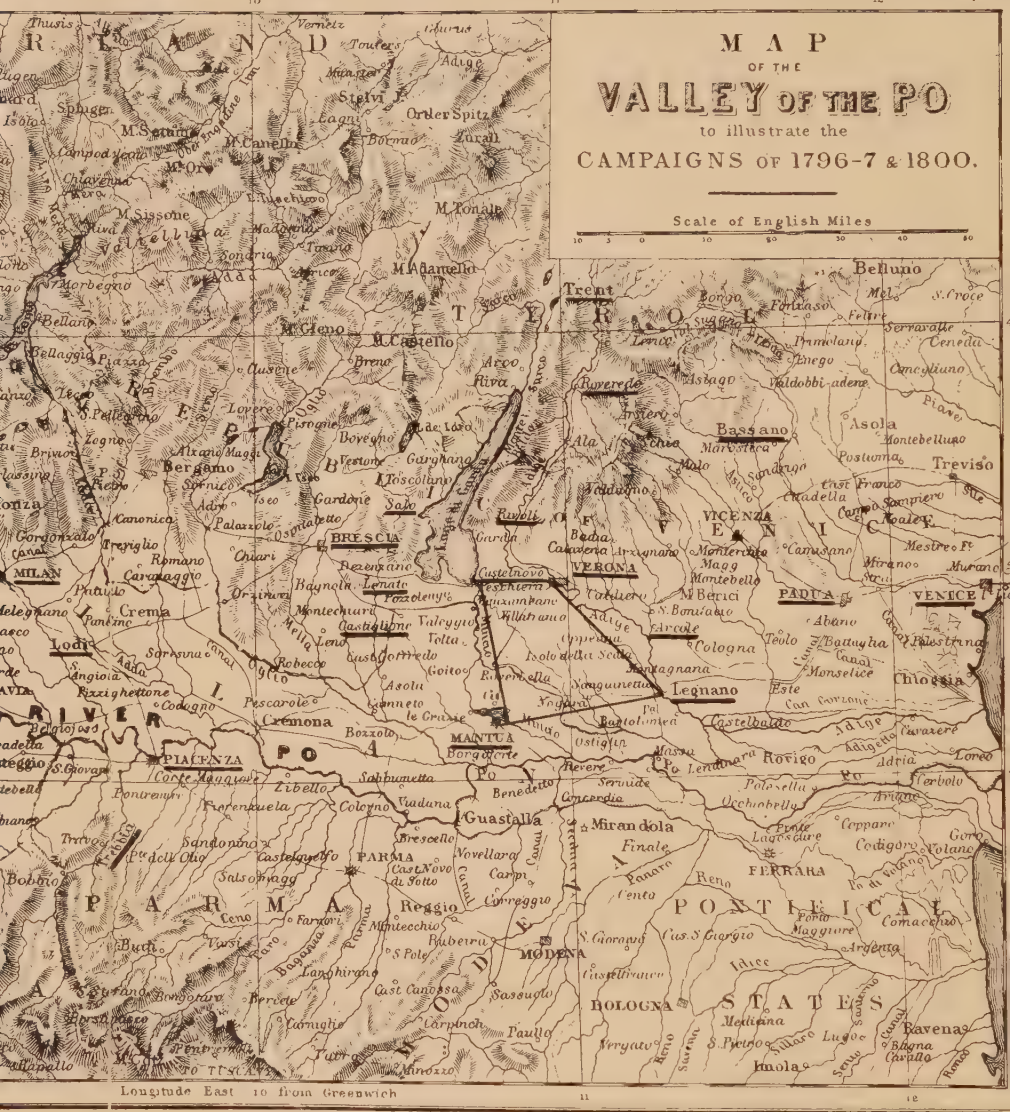
He turned from his route to pass two days with his mother at Marseille and hand her a letter from Joséphine. His mother was still very far from being reconciled to his marriage, and it was only after a hard struggle and a family council of war that Madame Letitia was finally persuaded to write a very formal and stilted letter of congratulation to her new daughter-in-law.

A week later, the 29 March, Napoleon arrived at Nice and took command of the Army of Italy, which he found in a very precarious situation. Its detachments were stretched out along the coast from Nice to Savona, while the Allies occupied strong positions along the northern slopes of the Maritime Alps and the Apennines, and had the further advantage of inner and therefore shorter lines. Moreover, the French troops were badly equipped, worse clad, and for a long time had not been paid at all.

The new commander, without money to feed, equip or pay his soldiers, at once won their hearts by the first of those ringing proclamations which he knew so well how to write:

"Soldiers! You are hungry and nearly naked. The Government owes you much, but can do nothing for you. Your patience and courage do you honor, but they bring you neither profit nor glory. I am come to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world. There you will find rich provinces and great towns. There you will find glory, honor, and riches. Soldiers of Italy, can your courage fail you?"

At this time, Italy, divided into twenty small rival states, existed only on the map. The King of Piedmont was Victor Amadeus the Third, whose daughters had married the two brothers of Louis the Sixteenth: Comte de Provence, afterwards Louis the Eighteenth, and Comte d'Artois, later Charles the Tenth. This fact had led him to enter the coalition against France. The House of Austria reigned over Lombardy, and a prince of that family governed Tuscany. The only heir of the Duke of Modena had married the Archduke Ferdinand. A sister of the unfortunate Marie-Antoinette occupied the throne of Naples as consort of the weak Ferdinand the Fourth. The venerable Pius Sixth, who wore the tiara, was the enemy of France on account of the destruction of the Catholic Church in the new Republic. Thus practically the whole Peninsula was allied against France. Only


MAP
OF THE
VALLEY OF THE PO
to illustrate the
CAMPAIGNS OF 1796-7 & 1800.
Scale of English Miles
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 60
Longitude East 10 from Greenwich
11
12
Belluno
Trent
Bassano
Asola
Treviso
VICENZA
VERONA
PADUA
VENICE
BRESCIA
Bergamo
MILAN
Crema
Lodi
Cremona
PIACENZA
PARMA
Reggio
MODENA
Guastalla
Mirandola
FERRARA
Legnano
Chioggia
BOLOGNA
STATES
PONTIFICAL
Ravenna
Imola
Lugo
Faenza
Forli
Rimini
Pesaro
Urbino
Ancona
Fano
Sinigaglia
Macerata
Loreto
Recanati
Fermo
Ascoli
Tolentino
Camerino
Spoleto
Foligno
Perugia
Assisi
Rieti
Terni
Narni
Civita Castellana
Viterbo
Orvieto
Montefiascone
Bolsena
Aquapendente
Radicofani
Acquapendente
Siena
Arezzo
Cortona
Montepulciano
Chiusi
Pienza
Montalcino
Grosseto
Massa
Carrara
Pontremoli
Sarzana
Spezia
Lerici
Porto Venere
Genoa
Savona
Albenga
Oneglia
Ventimiglia
Nice
Coni
Mondovi
Ceva
Cherasco
Alba
Asti
Alessandria
Tortona
Novi
Voghera
Pavia
Vigevano
Novara
Arona
Sesto Calende
Varese
Como
Lecco
Bergamo
Milan
Lodi
Crema
Cremona
Piacenza
Parma
Reggio
Modena
Bologna
Ferrara
Mantua
Verona
Vicenza
Padua
Venice
Trent
Belluno
Udine
Gorizia
Trieste
Capo d'Istria
Pirano
Rovigno
Pola
Fiume
Zara
Sebenico
Spalatro
Ragusa
Cattaro
Durazzo
Valona
Corfu
Ionian Islands
Adriatic Sea
Gulf of Venice
Gulf of Genoa
Ligurian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Tyrrhenian Sea
Corsica
Sardinia
Elba
Piombino
Leghorn
Pisa
Lucca
Florence
Prato
Pistoia
Empoli
Volterra
Pontedera
Pisa
Leghorn
Rome
Naples
Capua
Gaeta
Terracina
Velletri
Frascati
Albano
Tivoli
Subiaco
Palestrina
Civita Vecchia
Corneto
Toscanella
Montefiascone
Orvieto
Viterbo
Rieti
Terni
Spoleto
Foligno
Perugia
Assisi
Gubbio
Urbino
Pesaro
Fano
Sinigaglia
Ancona
Loreto
Macerata
Tolentino
Camerino
Fermo
Ascoli
Teramo
Aquila
Sulmona
Isernia
Campobasso
Benevento
Caserta
Naples
Gaeta
Terracina
Velletri
Frascati
Albano
Tivoli
Subiaco
Palestrina
Civita Vecchia
Corneto
Toscanella
Montefiascone
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Pesaro
Fano
Sinigaglia
Ancona
Loreto
Macerata
Tolentino
Camerino
Fermo
Ascoli
Teramo
Aquila
Sulmona
Isernia
Campobasso
Benevento
Caserta

the two republics of Venice and Genoa were nominally neutral.

The strength of the French army at the time that Napoleon arrived at headquarters may safely be estimated at about 37,000 men, but it was composed of excellent troops, now long inured to the fatigues of mountain warfare. His chief of staff was Berthier, then forty-three years old, who served in this capacity in all his campaigns except the last. He was a man of small intellect, but a most useful officer in his position, brave, exact and reliable. On the staff were also Marmont, Murat and Junot. In command of the divisions were generals already celebrated, such as Masséna, Augereau and Sérurier, while serving in subordinate positions were Lannes, Bessières, Suchet and Victor. All of these officers were destined to attain distinction under the Empire.

Bonaparte's appointment to the chief command had not been favorably received by several of these generals, who, like Masséna and Augereau, were much older and had seen longer service than he. But the young general, full of confidence in himself, assumed from the first that air of authority and determination which was so natural to him, and the murmurs of discontent were soon hushed in the face of the dazzling splendor of his victories.

The Piedmontese army of about 20,000 men was commanded by General Colli, an officer of high reputation. The Austrian forces, amounting to some 40,000 men, were under the command of Beaulieu, an experienced general, but old and inactive.

From Nice to Genoa the lofty mountainous ranges of the Maritime Alps and the Apennines divided the two armies. To the west and south of these ranges were the French; on the opposite side, the Austrians and Sardinians. There are only four or five passes through the mountains, one of which is at Savona, where Napoleon began to concentrate his forces. At the same time a column was pushed along the coast-line nearly to Genoa with the idea of bringing pressure to bear upon that city for

the payment of an indemnity on account of its acquiescence in the seizure of a French vessel by the British within its neutral port.

In accordance with his original plan, Napoleon resolved to cross the Alps at their lowest point, that is to say, at their junction with the Apennines above Savona. By this road he would avoid the fortifications which defended the other routes, and enter Piedmont at the point of junction of the two allied armies, and could thus drive a wedge between them and then attack either one or the other as he pleased. It is interesting to note that the plan of this, Napoleon's first campaign, was very similar to his last, the campaign of Waterloo. In the first, he was opposed by the Sardinians and Austrians; in the last, by the English and Prussians. In each case the armies opposed to him had divergent lines of communications. In each case he used his own army as a wedge to separate the two allies, and then, after defeating one army, he detached a containing force to hold it in check while he massed the rest of his forces against the other army. He thus repeated in 1815 the manœuvre that nineteen years before had been so successful at the beginning of his brilliant military career.

In this case he was more fortunate than in the Waterloo campaign, for by sending the small column along the Corniche road towards Genoa, he led Beaulieu to think that he was attempting to turn his left. Beaulieu therefore marched to the protection of Genoa with the bulk of his forces, at the same time giving his lieutenant, Argenteau, orders to cross the mountains from Montenotte to Savona, that is to say, by the same road which Napoleon had chosen to enter Piedmont. If this movement had been successful, it would have cut the French line in two, and that part of the army between Savona and Genoa would have been in danger of capture. But Argenteau encountered an obstacle which stopped his advance. It was a simple redoubt defended by 1200 men under Colonel Rampon, who for twenty-four hours held

off 12,000 Austrians and gave Napoleon time to come up with his army.

Leading his troops out of Savona at midnight, on the 11 April, Napoleon climbed twelve miles in the shadows of the Ligurian Alps, and as the day broke the Austrians found the French before them in overwhelming force. The weak Austrian centre occupied a ridge or plateau above the village of Montenotte, through which ran the road leading to Alessandria and Milan.

When the mountain mists rolled up, Argenteau found himself confronted by the divisions of Augereau and Laharpe, while behind him was the division of Masséna. Nearly surrounded by superior forces, he was forced to beat a precipitate retreat upon Dego, leaving two thousand prisoners in the hands of the French.

The next day Napoleon turned upon the hitherto unbroken Piedmontese and drove them back on Ceva, after having cut off one of their divisions, which was forced to surrender twenty-four hours later.

Then, leaving only the division of Augereau to contain the Piedmontese, Napoleon concentrated the rest of his forces against the Austrians and on the fourteenth drove them from Dego, capturing eight thousand prisoners.

Thus after three days' fighting, Napoleon had succeeded in separating the two allied armies. The Piedmontese were in full retreat on Ceva and Mondovi, the Austrians on Acqui, while the French army, in a central position, was master of both roads and able to turn against either enemy at will. Napoleon now stood like a wedge between the Allies, and stronger than either alone. The configuration of the ground also favored his plans. The natural desire of a beaten army is to fall back toward its base of supplies. This impelled the Austrians to retire down the valley of the Bormida in a northeasterly direction towards Milan, while the Sardinians retreated in a northwesterly direction towards Turin.

Leaving the division of Laharpe to ward off any renewal of an offensive by the Austrians, Napoleon now

started in pursuit of the demoralized Piedmontese, who scarcely made any attempt to defend the intrenched camp at Ceva, but fell back step by step. On the 21 April Napoleon overtook and defeated them at Mondovi, and four days later was at Cherasco only ten leagues from Turin.

Dismay reigned in the Sardinian capital. The King yielded to the supplications of his people and offered to make peace. By the armistice signed on the 28 April, Piedmont withdrew from the coalition, gave up three of her strongest fortresses, ceded Nice and Savoy to France, and disbanded her army.

Thus in less than three weeks, Napoleon had won six victories, killed or captured more than 12,000 men, taken more than forty cannon, detached the Sardinians from their alliance and forced them to make a separate peace, and had acquired as a base for future operations against the Austrians the fortresses of Coni, Tortona and Alessandria, with artillery, magazines and stores.

Napoleon, with the purpose of deceiving the Austrians as to his future plans, had put a clause in the armistice providing that the town of Valenza on the Po was to be surrendered to him. Beaulieu accordingly expected the French to attempt the passage of the river at that point. He therefore strongly fortified the approaches to the Po at Valenza, and also prepared a second line of defence at Pavia behind the Ticino. But Napoleon, after making a feint at Valenza, marched his army rapidly down the right bank of the river to Placentia, a place about twenty-four miles below the junction of the Ticino with the Po. Here he crossed without serious opposition, and thus turned both of the positions so carefully fortified by the Austrians.

Beaulieu did not feel strong enough to keep the field against the French, so placing a small garrison in the citadel of Milan, he retreated rapidly on Mantua, leaving a strong rear-guard to defend the passage of the Adda at Lodi. Here on the 10 May the French overtook the

Austrians, and carried the bridge by storm, after a short but spirited contest. The importance of this battle has been greatly overestimated on account of its spectacular features, but it produced a complete demoralization among the Austrian troops by giving them an idea of their own inferiority. The French lost only two hundred men, and they took two thousand prisoners.

All of Lombardy was now free from the Austrians, who retired behind the Mincio within the lines of the celebrated Quadrilateral.

Napoleon celebrated this victory by another of his flaming proclamations:

"Soldiers! You have descended like a torrent from the summit of the Apennines; you have overthrown and dispersed everything that opposed your progress. Piedmont, delivered from Austrian tyranny, has returned to her natural sentiments of peace and friendship for France. Milan is yours, and the republican flag waves throughout all Lombardy. The Dukes of Parma and Modena owe their political existence to your generosity. The army which menaced you with so much pride no longer finds a barrier to protect itself against your arms. The Po, the Ticino, and the Adda have not checked your progress for a single day; these boasted bulwarks of Italy have been crossed as rapidly as the Apennines."

Immediately after this, a deputation came to Napoleon at his headquarters to offer him the submission of Milan. He sent Masséna to take possession of the city, which he himself entered on the 15 May, under a triumphal arch, amid the enthusiastic cries of the populace who hailed him as a son of Italy and the defender of her independence.

But Napoleon did not remain long at Milan. After investing the citadel in which Beaulieu had left a garrison of 2000 Austrians, he proceeded with his main army to the Mincio.

The Austrian position was one of great strength. The

river Mincio which carries off the surplus waters of Lake Garda joins the Po after a course of some eighty miles. This river forms the chief inner barrier against all invaders of Italy. From the earliest times down to those of the two Napoleons the banks of the Mincio have witnessed many of the contests which have decided the fortunes of the Peninsula. On its lowest course, where the river widens out into a semicircular lagoon flanked by marshes is the historic town of Mantua. This city, with Legnago, Verona and Peschiera, forms the most famous strategical position of modern history, the celebrated Quadrilateral, commanding the north side of the valley of the Po, together with the passes of the Adige.

The plan of Napoleon was to attack the Austrian centre at Borghetto, but in order to deceive the enemy, he made a demonstration against Peschiera. Then on the 29 May, he attacked Borghetto with his cavalry under Murat supported by infantry and artillery and carried the bridge. By this movement he broke the centre of the Austrian army, part of which retired into the Tyrol while the remainder took refuge in Mantua, which was now invested.

The peculiarities of the ground favored the siege of the fortress. The semicircular lagoon which guards Mantua on the north, and the marshes on the south side, render an assault very difficult; but they also limit the range of ground over which sorties can be made, thereby lightening the work of the besiegers; and during part of the blockade Napoleon left fewer than five thousand men for this purpose.

Alarmed at Napoleon's progress, Austria now determined to make a great effort for the relief of Mantua and for the recovery of Italy. The possession of Mantua was of decisive importance. If Napoleon should take and keep it, Austria would be practically banished from Italy and her prestige destroyed. She must therefore relieve it, or lose not only her power in the Peninsula but her rank in Europe.

The Austrian army in the Tyrol was increased to 60,000

men and put under the command of Marshal Wurmser, an old man but a brave soldier, who had distinguished himself in several campaigns. Besides the main Austrian army there were 12,000 soldiers shut up in Mantua.

Napoleon had altogether 45,000 men. One division, 10,000 strong, was besieging Mantua, while the others were posted at Legnago and Verona.

From Trent, the headquarters of the Austrian army, there were three direct routes to the Quadrilateral: one by the west side of Lake Garda, the other two down the Adige on the east side of the lake — one to Rivoli by the right bank of the river and the other to Verona by the left bank.

Wurmser divided his forces into two armies: one, 25,000 strong, commanded by Quasdanovich, took the route by the west side of Lake Garda; the other, 35,000 strong, commanded by Wurmser himself, descended the Adige in two columns, one on each side of the river. By this plan, Wurmser expected to envelop and capture the whole French army.

Napoleon, not being strong enough to take the offensive, waited for developments. The 30 July he learned that the Austrians were advancing on both sides of the lake. He decided to raise the siege of Mantua and to concentrate at once all his available troops at the lower end of Lake Garda where from his central position he could fall with almost his entire force on either of the two Austrian armies. On the next day he concentrated his forces and the day following he attacked and defeated Quasdanovich, forcing him back into the mountains on the west side of the lake. He then turned back his columns and marched to meet Wurmser, who had directed one of his divisions on Lonato and one on Castiglione, while with the main part of his army he continued his march on Mantua.

On the third of August, at Lonato and Castiglione, Napoleon attacked and defeated the two Austrian divisions which had crossed the Mincio.

In the meantime Wurmser had arrived at Mantua,

revictualled the garrison, and then marched out in the direction of Castiglione to find the French. On the fifth of August Napoleon fought the second battle of Castiglione in which Wurmser was beaten and driven across the Mincio. Napoleon followed up his victory, attacked again at Peschiera and finally drove the Austrians into the Tyrol. Mantua was again invested. In six days he had fought and won three pitched battles, and had almost annihilated Wurmser's army,

Austria now raised another army, which was again put under the command of Wurmser, with the same purpose as before. The Austrian commander, who had learned nothing from experience, again divided his forces. Leaving Davidovich with 20,000 men in the Tyrol, with the remainder of his army, 26,000 strong, he prepared to descend the valley of the Brenta by another road, not previously described, which follows the river's course as far as Bassano, and then leaving the river passes through Vicenza into the valley of the Adige at Verona.

Having received reinforcements Napoleon now had about 42,000 soldiers. Leaving 8000 troops before Mantua to continue the siege and 3000 at Verona to hold the fortifications there, he himself with the main body of his army ascended the Adige. Early in September he attacked and defeated Davidovich, drove him further into the Tyrol and gained possession of Trent. This was an important position in that it opened to the French the valley of the Brenta and allowed them to debouch directly upon Wurmser's rear. Until Napoleon reached this point, he was not aware of Wurmser's march down the Brenta. With 30,000 soldiers he now found himself directly between Davidovich and Wurmser, the former of whom he had already defeated. He decided to march rapidly down the Brenta in order to overtake and crush Wurmser before he should reach Mantua.

Leaving a small force in the Tyrol to contain the de-

feated Austrians, with the divisions of Masséna and Augereau, he hurried to overtake Wurmser. Marching fifty miles in two days he came up with the Austrians at Bassano. Wurmser was in a critical position and hardly knew which way to turn. He had expected to find the French in front and he found them in his rear. He had expected to destroy their communications and his own were cut off. He could not escape; he had either to fight or surrender. He chose the former course, and in the battle which ensued at Bassano was decisively defeated. A part of his forces found safety in the mountainous district of Friuli, while Wurmser himself with the remainder of his army, about 12,000 men, marched by way of Legnago on Mantua which he succeeded in reaching in safety.

The Austrian government now determined to make a fourth effort to relieve Mantua. By the middle of October their army was increased to 50,000 men, while Wurmser with 20,000 more was shut up in Mantua. To oppose these forces Napoleon had hardly 40,000 men, including the 8000 who were besieging Mantua. The new Austrian army was under the command of Alvinzy. Towards the end of October, the position was as follows: Alvinzy with 30,000 men was on the Piave threatening an advance on Vicenza. Davidovich with 20,000 more was in the Tyrol. The main French army which numbered about 30,000 was at Verona. Napoleon now decided to reverse the operation he had carried out successfully against Wurmser; attack and defeat Alvinzy on the Piave, and then strike back through the valley of the Brenta at the flank and rear of Davidovich. But this time, his plan failed. On the 12 November the two armies met a few miles east of Verona at Caldiero, and the French were severely defeated, with the loss of three thousand men, and forced to retreat to Verona.

Napoleon's position was now highly critical, for Davidovich had descended the Adige and was only held in check by a division occupying the strong position of Rivoli. Only a few miles separated the two Austrian

armies and it appeared as if their junction could not be prevented.

When affairs were in this precarious condition, Napoleon with his incomparable firmness of decision now determined to hazard one of the most daring turning movements which history records. It was necessary at all cost to drive Alvinzy from the heights of Caldiero before the column from the Tyrol should overwhelm his detachment at Rivoli and debouch into the plains west of Verona. But, as Caldiero could not be taken by a frontal attack, it must be turned by a flanking movement. At nightfall on the 14 November he ordered his troops to take up arms. They crossed the town in silence and passed over to the right bank of the Adige, as if to place the river between the enemy and themselves.

Verona lies on both banks of the river, but the main part of the town is on the right. Napoleon made use of the stream as a natural fortification and concentrated his forces on the west side. The army marched with dumb resignation, supposing the retreat had begun. But on leaving the west gate of Verona, instead of taking the road to Peschiera, the order was given to turn to the left and march down the river.

This striking manœuvre seized all imaginations and roused the enthusiasm of the army. The veterans of the Army of Italy realized that they were about to turn a position that a few days before they had not been able to force.

Alvinzy, who was advancing from Caldiero towards Verona, had this fortified city on his front. On his right were impassable mountains. On his left was the river Adige, deep and unfordable. Directly to his rear was the defile of Villa Nova which he had just passed and which was the only route by which he could retire. To his left and rear was the river Alpon which rises near Villa Nova and flows south into the Adige. On the left bank of the Alpon, about three miles from its mouth, is the village of Arcole from which the battle takes its name.

The battle-field was one of the strangest in the history of war. Where the little river Alpon flows down to join the Adige, near the village of Ronco, there is a big marsh lying between the two streams, across which there are only two causeways and an army cannot move except by these roads.

Before proceeding to the execution of his plan, Napoleon had ordered Kilmaine to withdraw from the siege of Mantua with 2000 troops, take command at Verona, and hold it to the last. Then with about 20,000 soldiers he left Verona, descended the Adige and threw a bridge across the river at Ronco opposite the defile of Villa Nova. The following day he crossed the river and began the celebrated battle of Arcole. Napoleon's plan was to gain possession of Villa Nova and cut off the retreat of the Austrian army, but before he could gain the defile it was necessary to carry the bridge at Arcole.

The surprise which Napoleon had planned was by no means complete; for Alvinzy himself intended to cross the Adige at Zevio so as to make a dash on Mantua, and in order to protect his flank he had sent a detachment of Croats to hold Arcole. The Croats, constantly reinforced, poured in so deadly a fire as to check the French advance. Napoleon himself seized a banner and led his men to the attack. Marmont and Muiron with a handful of gallant men followed, endeavoring to screen the body of their chief; but Muiron fell dead, and another officer dragged Napoleon back from certain death.

The attack was continued on the two following days and, after vigorous fighting, on the third day Napoleon succeeded with a part of his force in driving back the Austrians who had advanced beyond Arcole. With the other part he crossed the Alpon near its mouth and took Arcole in reverse.

He then employed a skilful ruse to add to the discouragement of his foes. He posted a small body of horsemen behind a little clump of woods near the Austrian flank, with orders to sound their bugles as if for a great

cavalry charge. Alarmed by the noise and by the appearance of French troops in their rear, the demoralized white-coats suddenly gave way and Napoleon debouched upon the open plain with all his forces and drove them back as far as Bassano. Thus, after three days of most desperate fighting, he was again victorious.

During the battle of Arcole, Wurmser remained quiet at Mantua. Alvinzy had not expected to arrive before the place until the 23 November and had asked Wurmser not to make a sortie until then. By that date, however, the campaign was over.

"These brilliant results," says Rose, "were due primarily to the consummate leadership of Bonaparte. His geographical instincts discerned the means of profiting by natural obstacles and of turning them when they seemed to screen his opponents. Prompt to divine their plans, he bewildered them by the audacity of his combinations, which overbore their columns with superior force at the very time when he seemed doomed to succumb. Genius so commanding had not been displayed even by Frederick or Marlborough."

CHAPTER SIX

1797

FROM RIVOLI TO CAMPO FORMIO

Renewal of Hostilities— Battle of Rivoli — The March to Mantua — Battle of La Favorita — Fall of Mantua — The Last Italian Campaign — The Archduke Charles — Battles in Styria — Retreat of the Austrians — Preliminaries of Leoben — Fate of Venice — Napoleon at Montebello — Family Affairs — Joséphine in Italy — Royalist Plot at Paris — The 18 Fructidor — Peace of Campo Formio — Napoleon in Paris — The Career of Talleyrand — Results of the Italian Campaign

THE last Austrian attempt to relieve Mantua was made in January 1797 and under the same commander. Alvinzy now concentrated his main force, about 30,000 men, and marched down the valley towards Verona, while at the same time two smaller columns threatened the lower Adige from Vicenza and Padua.

In his previous campaign, Alvinzy had made his principal attack upon the French in the vicinity of Verona; this time he proposed to try a new plan. It was to advance with his main force, the second corps, from his headquarters in the Tyrol down the Adige upon Rivoli, while Provera with the first corps advanced from his base at Bassano upon Verona and Legnago. Accordingly, on the 10 January, Alvinzy began to descend the Adige with 28,000 men, while Provera, having divided his corps of 17,000 men into two parts, marched upon Verona and Legnago. Aside from the 10,000 soldiers under Sérurier who were besieging Mantua, Napoleon had only 32,000 men at his disposal. Informed that the Austrians were about to take the offensive, he hastened to Verona to await developments.

On the 12 January Provera having approached Verona with one division, his force was attacked and defeated by

the division of Masséna, nearly 1000 Austrians being captured. The ease with which the Austrians were repulsed convinced Napoleon that Alvinzy was not making his main attack from this direction. The next afternoon he learned that Joubert was hard pressed and had been compelled to fall back upon Rivoli. Feeling that the main Austrian attack would be made down the Adige, Napoleon at once made his plans accordingly. He sent orders to Joubert to hold the plateau of Rivoli at all hazards and set out with all of his forces for that point, which he himself reached by daybreak of the fourteenth.

As you stand on the irregular-shaped plateau of Rivoli on a winter day, looking north, you see immediately before you the bold snow-clad height of Monte Baldo. On your right, at the foot of the plateau runs the Adige, which has just emerged from the Tyrolese Alps, and continues its rapid course down to the plains of the Po. A good road runs along the left, or east bank, and an inferior one along the right. Six miles to the west is the broad expanse of Lake Garda, of which glimpses may be caught. Through the plain which surrounds the plateau, from north to south runs a swift stream called the Tasso, which is bridged or fordable at a number of places. Parallel to the Adige comes down towards the plateau a long ridge terminating in the heights of San Marco. The Rivoli plateau makes a very strong defensive position.

At about ten o'clock on the night of the 13 January, Joubert had given orders to retire from Rivoli, fearing to be overwhelmed by the Austrians. At this moment arrived the message from Bonaparte saying that he was on his way with reinforcements and ordering him to hold the position.

The falling weather had ceased and it was a clear, cold moonlight night when Bonaparte reached Joubert's headquarters about four in the morning. Knowing the country well, he could easily divine the positions and also

BATTLE OF RIVOLI

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the plans of the enemy by the wide-spread lights of their camp-fires.

The gorge by which the Adige breaks through the lowest foot-hills of the Alps to enter the lowlands has been famous since the earliest times. The river cuts through the mountains just before arriving opposite the plateau at Rivoli, flows past that town and thence past Verona and Legnago towards the sea. Alvinzy was marching by the two main roads which lie on opposite sides of the river. With a view of surrounding and capturing the French army, before passing the mountains he had divided his forces into six parts. One column of about 5000 men was to descend the Adige along the road on the left bank of the river, while another column of 9000 men should follow the road along the right bank and ascend the heights to the plateau of Rivoli. Three other columns were to pass over the mountain roads and attack the French front, while the sixth column, 4000 strong, was to march around the western slope of Monte Baldo and attack the French left and rear. An examination of the map will show that these six columns were all separated from each other by practically impassable barriers. Notwithstanding all these errors, if Alvinzy, on the night of the 13 January had gained possession of the plateau of Rivoli, he would still have had great chances of success. By an hour's march he could have reached a strong position for battle, where Napoleon with his inferior numbers would hardly have ventured to attack him. This was the crowning act of that series of errors which together caused the defeat at Rivoli — one of the worst ever experienced by Austrian arms.

In his choice of the plateau of Rivoli for the battle-field, Napoleon displayed excellent judgment. He had previously passed through the place and realized the importance of the position. The faculty of seeing and remembering the features of a country which he traversed was one of the distinguishing peculiarities of Napoleon's mind.

When Napoleon arrived at Rivoli just before daybreak, he saw the lights from the six Austrian camps and perceived that Alvinzy had separated his columns by impassable obstacles. In his front were 28,000 Austrians. He had only Joubert's division of 10,000, on the field, but Masséna would soon be up with 8000 more.

At early dawn began the battle which was to settle the fate of Mantua. For some time the Austrians had the advantage and the result was in suspense. But Napoleon soon restored order in the French ranks. Every successive attack of the Austrians was violently repulsed and their right and centre fell back towards Monte Baldo in great confusion. The Austrian column which attempted to turn the plateau on the west was completely cut off by the reserves under Rey and compelled to surrender. The whole Austrian army was soon in full retreat. The battle ended in the worst defeat and most complete rout which the Imperial arms had thus far sustained. The army was pursued into the Tyrol and 13,000 prisoners were captured in the next two days. Out of 28,000 Austrians, with whom Alvinzy began the battle, he had left on the night of the sixteenth but 13,000 soldiers. Thus ended the battle of Rivoli which is considered to be one of Napoleon's greatest tactical victories.

In the meantime, Provera with about 8000 Austrians, almost half of his corps, had forced the line of the Adige and crossed the river a few miles above Legnago. He then marched rapidly towards Mantua with Augereau in pursuit. He was twice attacked by the French, and on both occasions his losses were severe, but nevertheless on the morning of the fifteenth he finally appeared with 6000 men before Mantua. Here he was held in check for a day and a night by the blockading French army until Napoleon arrived with reinforcements.

Immediately after the battle of Rivoli, Napoleon learned of this movement by Provera, and he started at once with Masséna's division for Mantua. Although this

division had been marching and fighting continuously for the last twenty-four hours, under Napoleon's direction it marched all night on the fourteenth and the whole of the next day, and on the morning of the sixteenth was ready for battle in front of Mantua. The same men who two days before had marched by night from Verona, and had borne the brunt of the fight at Rivoli, now covered thirty miles in forty-eight hours.

The next morning there was a general engagement on the road from Mantua to "La Favorita," a country-seat of the Duke, which gave its name to the battle. Provera attacked in front, while Wurmser sallied out from the fortress at the head of a strong force. The latter was thrown back into the town by Sérurier who commanded the besiegers, while Provera was attacked by Victor and so badly beaten that he was forced to surrender his entire force.

In four days the Army of Italy had fought two pitched battles; had taken 25,000 prisoners, including three general officers; had captured twenty standards and sixty pieces of artillery, and had killed or wounded 6000 men. This short campaign of Rivoli was the turning point of the war and decided the history of Europe for twenty years. In ten months Napoleon had subdued Italy and humiliated the proudest empire on the Continent. It is not wonderful that he should have said in after-years, "My life began at Rivoli."

Meanwhile, Wurmser at Mantua was in a critical condition. For days the garrison of 20,000 men had been living on horseflesh. The victories of Rivoli and La Favorita had destroyed their last hope, and Wurmser could hold out no longer. On the second of February the starving garrison surrendered. Thus ended the fifth operation of the Italian campaign, in which Napoleon with only 44,000 soldiers had killed, wounded or captured nearly 43,000 Austrians. Mantua was in possession of the French and Napoleon was at last complete master of Italy.

In this dark hour of humiliation Austria decided to make one more supreme effort to reconquer Italy. The young Archduke Charles who had won great glory on the Rhine was recalled to take the command of the Imperial forces and prevent the French from advancing by the now open road to Vienna. This brother of the Emperor, then only twenty-five years of age, was in his day second only to Napoleon as a general. The Aulic Council ordered him into Friuli, a district of the Italian Alps on the borders of Venice, where the sixth Austrian army was to assemble. This force, unlike the others, was inferior in numbers to the French, who had been reinforced by the arrival of Bernadotte with 15,000 men.

Charles with the main Austrian army was stationed on the upper reaches of the Tagliamento through which ran the direct road to Vienna. An auxiliary force under Lusignan was to the westward on the Piave.

Napoleon with his strengthened forces resolved to take the offensive before the contingent ordered from the Rhine should reach the camp of his foe. The campaign was not long, for the Austrian forces were inferior in every respect to the French. Masséna advanced by the Piave, captured part of the forces of Lusignan and drove him northward towards Belluno. Napoleon, leaving Joubert with 18,000 men to repress the Tyrol, marched rapidly to the Tagliamento, which he reached on the 16 March long before he was expected. During the following night the French forded the stream and took the Austrians by surprise. After a gallant fight of three hours they retreated in good order.

In the meantime Masséna had advanced from the Tyrol and cut the most direct line of communication with the Austrian capital. Charles was therefore obliged to retreat due eastward into the valley of the Isonzo, behind the rushing river which he hoped would stop the French pursuit.

The severe cold, however, had formed ice-bridges in several places, where the French easily crossed. Masséna

captured Tarvis, thus closing the route by which the detachment from the Rhine was to arrive. After seizing both Trieste and Fiume, the only harbors on the Austrian coast, Napoleon crossed the pass of Tarvis and entered Germany. At the end of the month of March, Charles, with his army reduced by a fourth, was beyond the river Mur on the road to Vienna.

Joubert in the Tyrol had not been so successful. The whole country had risen against him, but after several severe engagements, he forced his way into the valley of the Drave and marched down that river to join Napoleon.

Under the circumstances, Napoleon on the last day of March addressed to Charles what he called a "philosophical letter," suggesting a suspension of hostilities. "Brave soldiers," he said, "make war and desire peace. Has not this one lasted six years? Have we not killed enough men and inflicted enough evils on sorrowing humanity?" He continued his pursuit, however, and after the capture of Leoben on the 7 April was within one hundred miles of the Austrian capital. Then at last the Imperial cabinet decided to treat for peace. The dismay in Vienna had been great, and all preparations had been made for the flight of the Imperial family to Hungary. Among the fugitives was a little girl of six years named Marie-Louise. Who would then have imagined that thirteen years later this little Archduchess was to be the bride of the Conqueror of Italy!

The situation of Napoleon at Leoben was by no means secure and he was glad to receive the Austrian plenipotentiaries. There was a revolutionary movement in Venice, and the Tyrol was aflame in his rear. Moreau had not crossed the Rhine as planned, and no help could be expected from that quarter. The peace party in Vienna, however, was too strong to be resisted and the Government was glad to accept the offer of Napoleon. On the 18 April the preliminaries were closed and adopted. According to these, France was to have Belgium and the line of the Rhine. Austria obtained the mainland of

Venice, together with Istria and Dalmatia. When the terms of Leoben reached Paris they were ratified as a matter of course, even though they had been negotiated by an unauthorized agent. One thing, however, the Directors notified Bonaparte he must not do, namely, to interfere further in the affairs of Venice. This order reached him on the eighth of May, but just a week before Venice as an independent state had ceased to exist.

The events which had transpired in Venetia during this last campaign gave Napoleon a good excuse for his action. Just at the moment that the peace negotiations were being conducted, the inhabitants of the Venetian mainland rose against the invaders and there were massacres of the French at Verona and elsewhere. According to the secret articles signed at Leoben, the city of Venice was to have retained its independence, but her actions could now be chastised by annihilation. Venice could in fact indemnify the Hapsburgs for the further cessions which France exacted from them elsewhere.

When Napoleon first entered Milan after the battle of Lodi, in May 1796, he occupied the palace of the Austrian Archduke. On the occasion of his next visit, he went to live in the Serbelloni Palace on the Corso Venezia, a few squares behind the cathedral. The Serbelloni is far handsomer than the Royal Palace and probably the most beautiful of all the palaces of Milan. Here Joséphine was installed by Napoleon when she came on from Paris.

During the first weeks of the campaign, Napoleon was continually urging Joséphine to join him in Italy. Finally yielding to his demands, she left Paris for Milan the last week in June 1796. Here she passed most of the summer, except for a short visit to headquarters before the battle of Castiglione. Having resumed the siege of Mantua after this victory, Napoleon went to Milan where he passed a fortnight with his wife. The Austrians then began a new offensive, and he was obliged to rejoin his troops.

While Bonaparte was gaining his victories, Joséphine was bored to death at Milan, At this time she wrote a letter to her aunt Mme. Renaudin, who had just married the Marquis de Beauharnais, the father of her first husband. This letter shows the feeling of sadness which oppressed Joséphine, separated from her children and her Parisian friends. The Duc de Serbelloni who was going to Paris was charged with the delivery of this epistle which ran as follows:

"Monsieur Serbelloni will tell you, my dear aunt, of the manner in which I have been received in Italy. All the princes have given me fêtes, even the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the brother of the Emperor. Well, I prefer to be a simple private individual in France! I do not care for the honors of this country; I am much bored. It is true that my health contributes much to make me sad. I am often indisposed. If good fortune could assure good health, I ought to be well. I have the most amiable husband that a woman could hope for. I have no chance to desire anything. My wishes are his. All day long he is in a position of adoration before me, as if I were a divinity. I could not have a better husband. M. Serbelloni will tell you how much I am loved. He often writes my children, of whom he is very fond. He is sending Hortense by M. Serbelloni a beautiful enamelled repeating-watch surrounded by fine pearls; to Eugène a handsome gold watch."

Early in December, two weeks after the battle of Arcole, Napoleon was once more back in Milan. Lavalette, who had just been appointed aide de camp, gives in his "Memoirs" an interesting account of the life at the Serbelloni Palace.

The aides de camp of Bonaparte were then eight in number. Muiron, who had been killed at Arcole, and Murat, who had just been made a general, were no longer included in the number. The first aide de camp was Colonel Junot, afterwards Duc d'Abrantès, who had first

attracted Napoleon's attention at Toulon by his bravery and natural wit. The second was the future Duc de Ragusa, Marmont, colonel of artillery, who belonged to an old and highly considered family of Burgundy. He was a man of good education, of boundless ambition, and was deeply attached to his commander, whom he also had met for the first time at Toulon.

Less brilliant than Junot and Marmont, but of a more stable character, was Duroc, the future Grand Maréchal du Palais, the devoted friend of Napoleon, who served in all the campaigns of the Empire until he was killed by his side at Bautzen in 1813.

Among the other aides de camp were the young Louis Bonaparte, then just eighteen years of age, and Lavalette, the future Directeur-Général des Postes. The names of the remaining three never became known to fame.

The 19 February, a month after the battle of Rivoli, Bonaparte signed with the Pope the Treaty of Tolentino. He was then only three marches from the capital and nothing would have been easier than for him to enter the Eternal City in triumph. He had the wisdom not to do so, and Rome was the only continental capital in which he never set foot.

The same day Napoleon wrote Joséphine his last letter during this first campaign of Italy:

"Not a word from you. Bon Dieu! what have I done? To think only of you, to love only Joséphine, to live only for my wife, to enjoy only the happiness of my loved one, do I merit on her part so rigorous a treatment? My beloved, I implore you, think often of me, and write me every day. You are ill, or you do not love me. Do you then think that my heart is of marble? Write me, think of me and love me. Pour la vie à toi."

It is a matter of regret that the letters of Joséphine to her husband during this same period have not been preserved, but it is to be presumed from Napoleon's constant reproaches that she responded but rarely to

his sentimental effusions. She did not hesitate to show his letters to her friends, saying with her funny Creole accent, "Est-il drôle, Bonaparte!" She was proud of him, she admired his glory, she was fascinated by his prestige, but she was not in love with him. If Napoleon later became less devoted, it was because he had not received that response to his tenderness which he had looked for.

As Milan is one of the hottest places in Italy, during his second and last summer there, Napoleon left the heat of the city and took up his residence at the lovely villa of Montebello which is situated on the old Como road a few miles from the city. It was then a great country palace sitting far back from the highroad in a large park with cool shady avenues, pretty fountains and all the exquisite loveliness of an Italian retreat. From the broad high terrace that ran around the front and sides of the villa, the Alps could be seen on one side and the beautiful spires of the Milan cathedral on the other. This beautiful villa is now a lunatic asylum.

Here most of the members of his family rejoined him. Madame Bonaparte came with the desire of obtaining his approval of the marriage of her eldest daughter Elisa. A suitor had presented himself in the person of Félix Bacciochi, of a poor but noble family of Genoa. Although his face was stupid and insignificant, he passed for a handsome man. The marriage had taken place at Marseille the first of May 1797, in spite of the formal opposition of Napoleon. It was to secure his pardon, and to persuade him to furnish a dot, that his mother now came to Milan.

Napoleon finally gave his approval, and at the same time announced to his mother the marriage which he had arranged between Pauline and Leclerc. Pauline was then sixteen, and was extremely pretty, with a rare combination of beauty and grace. But she was an ignorant child, who could hardly read or write. Leclerc was a handsome man of twenty-four. He was small in stature, and, although blonde, bore some resemblance to Napoleon.

Napoleon had first met him during the siege of Toulon. He had been attached to Napoleon's staff in Italy, and was highly esteemed by his commander. On the 14 June, the marriage was celebrated, with both civil and religious forms, by the express wish of Napoleon. At the same time he had blessed by the Church the civil union of Elisa and Bacciochi. Two days later were signed the contracts by which the two sisters each received from the three brothers, Joseph, Napoleon and Louis, by way of dot, a capital of 40,000 francs, which was stated to be their share of the Bonaparte family property, which must therefore have reached a total of 320,000 francs.

This family reunion, where there were so many elements of discord, was not prolonged. After a visit of two weeks, during which she was present at the two marriages, Madame Bonaparte left for Corsica. Elisa and her husband accompanied her.

Joseph also left Montebello. He had been given a diplomatic post at Parma, but before he could go there to take up his duties he received notice of his appointment as minister at Rome, with a salary of 60,000 francs in gold. He at once set out, taking with him his wife and his youngest sister, Caroline. On leaving Milan, Napoleon sent Jérôme back to college at Paris. Pauline remained in Italy with Leclerc, who had been named chief of staff in the army.

What a change in the family fortunes in the short space of two years! Before the events of the 13 Vendémiaire, Napoleon was living in misery in Paris; Joseph was looking for a small consulship in Italy; Lucien, for a small post in the commissary department; Louis was a student at Châlons. Two years later Napoleon is the commander-in-chief of the victorious Army of Italy; Joseph is ambassador at Rome; Lucien is head of the commissary; Louis is captain of cavalry; the two girls are married and endowed; the mother has returned in sovereign state to Corsica, which had just been evacuated by the English.

All of this is due to Napoleon; but there is not a single member of the family who is not seriously convinced that this good fortune is a tribute to his own merits. The blindness of Napoleon to the faults and weaknesses of his family is the feeble point of his mind, as it is also one of the most attractive sides of his heart.

The 24 June 1797 Joséphine again left Paris and arrived at Montebello the 9 July where she spent several weeks. The early autumn of this year, which Napoleon and Joséphine passed at the Serbelloni Palace in Milan, was perhaps the happiest period of their lives. The attention of Europe was more drawn to this palace than to all the residences of the emperors and kings. There the Conqueror of Italy lived in regal style, surrounded by his military court. Beside him was Joséphine, who already seemed like a sovereign. Bonaparte was then the favorite of the Milanaise population, who waited for hours at the gates of the palace to see him come out. He was regarded by all the Italians as a fellow-countryman, and this fact had contributed not a little to his success in Italy. At Milan, as later at Paris, Joséphine admirably served the interests of her husband. By her antecedents, her relations, her character, she formed a connecting link between him and the personages of the *ancien régime.*

"My marriage with Mme. de Beauharnais," said Napoleon, "brought me in contact with a large element the coöperation of which was necessary in my system of fusion, one of the greatest principles of my administration, and one which specially characterized it. Without my wife, I should never have been able to have any natural *rapport* with this party."

The salon of the former Vicomtesse de Beauharnais in the Serbelloni Palace recalled the elegance and the traditions of the most brilliant circles of the Faubourg Saint-Germain. Joséphine received the noble families of Milan with exquisite grace, and there reigned a kind of etiquette which contrasted in a singular manner with the democratic air of her husband.

Joséphine was then thirty-four years of age. Her dark and faded complexion was concealed by the rouge and powder which she employed with consummate art. She was adroit in hiding the imperfections of nature. The elegance of her form, the grace of her movements, the softness of her eyes and of the tone of her voice, all the harmony of her person, gave to her an exceptional charm. Add to this a Creole coquetterie which was all the more agreeable because it seemed natural and involuntary, a conversation which pleased without ever being pretentious, a kindness of heart which was manifested on every occasion, manners which recalled the best traditions of the Court of Versailles, an exquisite taste in dress, with toilettes which queens might have envied, and you can easily understand the charm which a woman so eminently fascinating exercised over the heart and mind of Bonaparte.

In order to understand Bonaparte's share in the coup d'état of 18 Fructidor, it is necessary to review briefly the course of political events at Paris. At the time of the adoption of the new constitution it was generally thought that the Revolution was entirely a thing of the past. But soon Royalist revolts broke out in the West and there was a communistic plot at Paris for the overthrow of the Directors. The Royalists began to gain ground. The elections for the renewal of a third part of the Councils resulted in large gains for them, and they succeeded in electing to the Directory a constitutional Royalist, Barthélemy. Another director, Carnot, also favored moderate opinions. A crisis rapidly developed between the Jacobin majority in the Directory and the two legislative Councils in each of which the Royalists had the majority.

The chief reliance of the Royalists was in Pichegru, the conqueror of Holland, a former Jacobin, who had now given his adhesion to the Royalist party. That their intrigues aimed at the restoration of the Bourbons has clearly been proved.

Matters came to a crisis in July when the majority

of the Councils sought to force on the Directory ministers who would favor Royalist aims. Barras and two other Directors refused to listen to these behests, and this defiance of the deputies was received with acclaim by the Army but was not satisfactory to most civilians.

Under these circumstances, Bonaparte's conduct was very cautious and reserved. In the month of May he sent to Paris his most trusted aide de camp, Lavalette, with instructions to keep aloof from entanglements and to report to him on the state of affairs. The last of July he sent to the Directors a brief note stating that Augereau had requested leave to go to Paris, "where his affairs call him."

The double rôle which Bonaparte was playing was plainly shown in these preparations. His official envoy to Paris was the Jacobin general, the child of the faubourgs, Augereau, while his secret envoy to the capital was Lavalette, a man in whom he had complete confidence, whose manners and social relations were those of the *ancien régime*. Through Augereau he aimed to keep in touch with the Republicans, through Lavalette, with the Royalists. Already he had in view that system of fusion which was to be the basis of his internal policy. His plan was to take advantage of the consequences of the coup d'état, and at the same time to appear clear of any complicity in the movement.

Augereau was certain to act with energy, and so it turned out. He prepared to end matters by a single blow. When the time came, he occupied the strategic points of the capital, drew a cordon of troops around the Tuileries, where the Councils sat, invaded the chambers of the deputies, and consigned to the Temple the Royalists there present, with their leader, Pichegru. Barthélemy was also seized, but Carnot, warned by a friend, fled during the early hours of this eventful day, 18 Fructidor, or the 4 September. The remaining members of the Councils now passed severe laws which entrusted the Directory with extensive and almost absolute powers.

Augereau fully expected that he would be one of the two Directors to be elected in place of Carnot and Barthélemy, but to his great disappointment he was not chosen.

While these events were happening at Paris the negotiations with Austria had dragged on slowly through the whole summer and far into the autumn of 1797, mainly owing to the hopes of the Emperor that the disorder in France would result to his advantage. Such might have been the case had not Bonaparte, while striking down the Royalists at Paris through his lieutenant, retained his victorious army in Venetia ready again to invade Austria should occasion arise. The coup d'état of Fructidor helped on the progress of the negotiations. That event seemed to render impossible at least for the present the return of the Royalists.

Towards the middle of September 1797 Bonaparte, accompanied by his wife, took up his residence in the Château of Passeriano, to bring to a close the diplomatic negotiations with Austria. This residence was a fine country house situated upon the left bank of the Tagliamento about four leagues from Udine. The negotiations, which had been dragging along for months, had reached a point where it was necessary to conclude or break them off. On the 16 October he had a decisive interview with the Austrian plenipotentiaries. It seemed impossible to reach an agreement. Arising from his seat and stamping his foot on the floor, Bonaparte exclaimed: "You wish war; very well, you shall have it." Then seizing a magnificent porcelain liqueur set (*cabaret*) he threw it with all his force on the floor, where it broke into a thousand fragments. "Look," he cried, "such will be your Austrian monarchy before three months have elapsed!" Then he rushed from the room.

On leaving the conference chamber he gave orders to notify the Archduke Charles of the resumption of hostilities after a delay of twenty-four hours. The following day the Peace of Campo Formio was signed! It bore the

name of a village situated halfway between Udine and Passeriano.

The principal articles of the treaty may be thus summarized: Austria ceded to the French Republic, Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine. Of the once extensive Venetian possessions, France gained the Ionian Isles, while Austria acquired Istria, Dalmatia, the city of Venice and the mainland of Venetia as far west as Lake Garda, the Adige and the lower part of the river Po.

At the news of the peace of Campo Formio, great joy reigned all over France. A hundred newspaper articles and numerous contemporary letters show us a nation "drunk with happiness." On every side the praises of General Bonaparte resounded. It was a tremendous explosion of enthusiasm and affection. From the remotest country places to the faubourgs of Paris it ran like a lighted train of gunpowder. The French nation literally loved Bonaparte. It made for itself an ideal picture of the hero who had brought it peace. The affection of the country crowned him with all the virtues and attributed to him valor, wisdom and magnanimity. The Directory alone was uneasy. It tried to keep the hero away from the capital. But Paris was set on beholding its god, and the Directors were forced to send for him.

Leaving Joséphine in Italy, a month later Bonaparte left Milan for Paris, travelling by way of Geneva, where he stopped for a day. He was accompanied by his aides de camp, Marmont, Duroc and Lavalette, as well as his secretary, Bourrienne, and his physician Yvan. The journey was a series of ovations. At Berne and at Bâle and in all the cities through which he passed, he was received with salvos of artillery. He finally reached Paris the evening of the 5 December.

Napoleon took up his residence in the little hôtel of the Rue Chantereine from which he had set out twenty-one months before an obscure man, to which he returned as a celebrity.

One of his first visitors was Talleyrand, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, who came at once to pay his respects. His interview with the Directors was most cordial. To see Bonaparte, to talk with him, was the ambition of every one. The papers recounted the smallest details of his life. You can read in the "Moniteur" of the 10 December: "General Bonaparte is living in his wife's house, Rue Chantereine. This mansion is simple and plain. He goes out rarely, and without escort, in a simple carriage with two horses. He is often seen walking alone in his modest garden."

Understanding the Parisian character, and knowing that the attention of the great capital is not long drawn to the same object, Bonaparte kept himself studiously in seclusion. He affected a simplicity which contrasted strongly with his glory.

As soon as Bonaparte returned to Paris, Talleyrand, who desired to win his favor, wished to give a large fête in his honor, but awaited the return of Joséphine. She finally reached Paris on the second of January 1798 and the ball took place the next night.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs was installed in a new and sumptuous hotel in the Faubourg Saint-Germain. It was situated in the Rue du Bac at the corner of the Rue de Grenelle.

To review the life of Talleyrand, who was destined to achieve the greatest diplomatic reputation of the age, would be to recount the history of the Revolution. After taking a prominent part in the Fête de la Fédération, the 14 July 1790, Talleyrand remained in Paris until the day after the "September Massacres," when he obtained a passport for England. After a residence of over a year in London, at the beginning of 1794 he was expelled under the provisions of the Alien Act. He embarked for the United States, where he awaited events. An interesting account of his stay in America is given in the "Recollections" of the Marquise de La Tour du Pin. After the death of Robespierre he made an attempt to

PRINCE DE TALLEYRAND-PÉRIGORD

secure permission to return to France. Finally in September 1795 his request was granted. On his return to Paris early in the following year he had a cordial reception. Through the efforts of Mme. de Staël, who was then all-powerful with Benjamin Constant, he was made minister in July 1797. He immediately announced his appointment in a flattering letter to the Conqueror of Italy, the man of the future, whose good graces he wished to secure.

The fête to Bonaparte was a great success. The minister did the honors in an admirable manner. He loved display and etiquette. He had that cold politeness, that "nonchalance doublée de malice," that exquisite tact, that science of the *nuances* which distinguished the men of the *ancien régime*. He brought into the new world the manners of the Court of Versailles. This ball given by a former bishop in an aristocratic mansion was a sign of the times. Every one was tired of the rigors of the Revolution. All welcomed a return to the "Beaux jours de Marie-Antoinette."

During the two years that Napoleon had commanded in Italy he had filled the world with the *éclat* of his victories. The coalition had been dissolved and Austria had formally recognized the French Republic. Two new republics like the French had been created, and all Italy had submitted to French laws and influence. The victories in Italy had caused alarm in Vienna and forced the Aulic Council to recall 60,000 men from the Rhine and thus enabled Moreau and Jourdan to resume the offensive and carry the tricolor to the heart of Germany.

More than one hundred millions of francs had been levied in Italy, one half of which had supported the army, while the other half, transmitted to Paris, had been used for the expenses of the government and the support of the armies on the Rhine.

The Louvre had been enriched by the masterpieces from the galleries of Parma, Florence and Rome, which were valued at more than two hundred millions. Happy days seemed assured for France, and for these she was indebted to the Conqueror of Italy.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1798–1799

EGYPT

Napoleon in Paris — Appointed to Command of the Army of England — Decides on the Expedition to Egypt — Captures Malta — Escapes the English Fleet — Arrives at Alexandria — Marches on Cairo — Battle of the Pyramids — The Occupation of Cairo — Destruction of the French Fleet — Turkey Declares War — The Syrian Expedition — Capture of Jaffa — Advance to Saint-Jean-d'Acre — Its Place in History — Battle of Mont-Tabor — Last Assault on Acre — The Siege Abandoned — Napoleon's First Retreat — Arrival at Jaffa — Return to Cairo — Battle of Aboukir — Return to France — Enthusiastic Reception — Reconciliation with Joséphine

ON his return from Italy, Napoleon appeared at the height of his glory, and yet he was not contented. In vain the crowds showed for him a sort of idolatry. Nothing could satisfy his boundless ambition. No sovereign had ever produced in the capital the impression of the victor of Rivoli. His little hôtel in the Rue Chantereine, the name of which was soon to be changed to the Rue de la Victoire, had more prestige than the palaces of kings. Every time he went to the theatre he had to conceal himself in the back of his *loge* to avoid the enthusiastic acclaims of the spectators.

Joséphine participated in the glory of her husband and nothing troubled her happiness. Her son Eugène had returned from Italy and her daughter Hortense was near her at the school of Madame Campan at Saint-Germain. She had never been so happy. The Bonapartes had not succeeded in creating dissension between her and her husband. She was rejoiced to see that her little hôtel had become the rendez-vous of the best Parisian society.

But neither the affection of Joséphine, nor the flattery

of the admirers by whom he was surrounded, nor success of every kind, could distract the thoughts of a being incapable of repose. As Talleyrand once said of Napoleon, "Celui qui donnerait un peu de paresse à cet homme serait le bienfaiteur de l'univers." Desirous of action, he looked forward with anxiety to the hour that would see the public curiosity appeased. When Bourrienne remarked to him that it must be very gratifying to have the acclaims of his fellow-citizens, he replied, "The people would crowd around me just as eagerly if I were going to the scaffold."

The tenth of December a fête was given by the Directors at the Luxembourg in honor of Bonaparte. On this occasion he was to present formally the Treaty of Campo Formio. An address of fulsome flattery was pronounced by Talleyrand, to which Bonaparte briefly responded. Then Barras spoke, the climax of his oration being reached when, pointing northwards, he exclaimed, "Go there and capture the giant Corsair that infests the seas; go punish in London outrages that have too long been left unavenged." Whereupon, as if overcome by his emotion, he embraced the general. "Here," says Rose, "the curtain falls on the first, or Italian, act of the young hero's career, soon to rise on Oriental adventures which were to recall the exploits of Alexander."

Early in 1798 Bonaparte was appointed by the Directory to the chief command of the Army of England, and on the tenth of February he left on a short tour of inspection of the northern ports. He returned to Paris by way of Antwerp and Brussels. He was convinced that any attempts against England in this direction would be barren of results. In a report to the Government on the 23 February he thus sums up the whole situation:

"Whatever efforts we make, we shall not for some years gain the naval supremacy. To invade England without that supremacy is the most daring and difficult task ever undertaken. We must really give up the expedition and concentrate all our attention and resources

on the Rhine, in order to deprive England of Hanover and Hamburg; or else undertake an eastern expedition which would menace her trade with the Indies."

Bonaparte had little difficulty in obtaining the consent of the Directory to his Oriental plans, as they were pleased at the thought of his departure from France. Although the object of his expedition was unknown, yet every one wished to accompany him. Not only military men desired to take part, but also civilians — *savants*, engineers and artists. Bourrienne, who was in the secret, asked Bonaparte how long he expected to remain in Egypt, to which he replied, "A few months or six years — all depends on circumstances."

On the third of May 1798, Napoleon and Joséphine, after having dined at the Luxembourg with Barras, *en petit comité*, went to the Théâtre Français to hear Talma in "Macbeth." The hero of Italy was saluted with the same acclaim as during the first days of his return. At the end of the performance he returned home, and at midnight set out for Toulon, accompanied by Joséphine, Eugène, Bourrienne, Duroc, and Lavalette. Paris was ignorant of his departure, and the next morning, when every one thought he was still in the Rue de la Victoire, he was already far on his way to the coast. He had not even allowed Joséphine to go to Saint-Germain to embrace her daughter before her departure. She did not know the destination of the expedition, or whether she would be allowed to accompany it.

The party arrived at Toulon on the ninth of May. Bonaparte wished to sail at once, but he was detained in port for ten days by contrary winds. In anticipation of an invasion of England, nearly all the ships of the British navy were blockading the northern ports of France and guarding the English coast. There was not a warship left in the Mediterranean until Nelson arrived off Toulon two days before the sailing of the French fleet. He was then driven out to sea by a violent wind and was not able to take up his station again until the first

of June, when the French fleet was already twelve days on its way.

The objects of the Egyptian expedition were mainly five in number, namely: (1) To capture Malta as a half-way station; (2) To establish a French colony in Africa for the production of sugar and cotton, to compensate for the loss of the West India islands in the war with England; (3) To cut through the Isthmus of Suez and seize the Red Sea; (4) To make Egypt a base for an advance on India; and (5) To open an eastern outlet to French commerce, and eventually to exclude England from all her possessions in the Orient.

In the expedition were many officers who were to attain great distinction under the Empire, such as Murat and Davout, who were then both in command of dragoons; Bessières, Lannes, and Junot. Berthier was Chief of Staff. Desaix and Kléber were at the head of divisions, and Marmont of a brigade. The cavalry, 4000 strong, was commanded by a stalwart mulatto, Alexandre Dumas, the father of the great romancer. The most distinguished officer was Desaix, small in stature, but very active, a born commander. The handsomest man in the army was Kléber, an officer of great courage, capable of marvellous deeds.

The French fleet comprised one hundred battle-ships and nearly four hundred transports carrying about 35,000 troops. In this age of steam and the wireless, Napoleon's expedition would have been overtaken and destroyed in less than a week. Even in those days it was only by the most incredible good luck that he and his big fleet safely traversed the Mediterranean, while the greatest of British sailors was scouring the sea in search of him. While Nelson was setting his course for the southern part of Italy on the assumption that the French expedition was headed for Naples or Sicily, Napoleon was steering toward the African shore, passing outside of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily, and making for Malta, which was reached after a sail of about three weeks.

This island was held by the Knights of Saint John, the last of those companies of Christian soldiers who had once waged war on the infidels in Palestine. After having been driven from Jerusalem to the rock of Saint-Jean-d'Acre and from there to Rhodes, they had found refuge behind the ramparts of this barren island. The Grand Master at once surrendered without any defence.

At Malta there was found an immense supply of weapons and munitions, including 1200 guns. The order of the Knights of Saint John was abolished and the island reorganized on a French plan. Leaving a garrison of 4000 men, Bonaparte continued his route toward Egypt.

By this time Nelson had begun to suspect that the French were going to Egypt and had set his course for Alexandria. With his faster vessels he passed the French during the night and arrived at Alexandria two days before the French fleet. Not finding the French there he again set sail, for the Syrian coast.

Bonaparte reached Alexandria on the evening of the 30 June and commenced the debarkation of his troops the same night. The next day he marched on the city.

Alexandria in its earlier days was protected on the sea-front by an island, and this in Cæsar's time was joined to the mainland by a causeway. On this island was the Pharos, a lighthouse 400 feet high, one of the "Seven Wonders of the World." This causeway had gradually been widened until the northern part of the city had become a peninsula, the projecting points of which enclosed two ports, the New, on the east, and the Old, on the west.

The Alexandria of to-day, with its 400,000 inhabitants, is much changed from the squalid village of 5000 people which Napoleon found. The only landmark that has survived the changes of the centuries is Pompey's Pillar which still looms above the roofs and towers of the city. The once famous lighthouse of Pharos has disappeared and a fort covers the site.

From a mound near Pompey's column, Napoleon di-

rected the assault upon the town. His artillery had not yet been landed, but the first outworks were easily carried by assault and the city and forts capitulated the same day.

Egypt at that time was nominally a part of the Sultan's domains, under a Viceroy; actually it was ruled by the Mamelukes, a warlike caste whose capital city was Cairo. The Mamelukes were commanded by Murad Bey and Ibrahim Bey. Murad was a brave officer and controlled military affairs, while Ibrahim, who was rich and wise, looked after the civil administration.

In order not to give the Mamelukes time to concert means of defence, Bonaparte decided to push on at once toward Cairo. Saint Louis had required four months to march from Alexandria to the capital; Napoleon made the same distance in fifteen days.

Leaving Alexandria on the sixth of July, Napoleon marched with his army parallel to the Nile, keeping pace with the flotilla which carried his supplies. Before reaching the capital it was necessary to fight. On the 13 July the French encountered Murad, who was posted, with 4000 horsemen, near the village of Chebreisse, with his right flank resting on the river where it was covered by a flotilla. The combat began between the two flotillas. Bonaparte immediately attacked, adopting the order of battle used by the Russians against the Turks, each division being formed in squares enclosing the equipages and the few cavalry which he possessed. In vain the Mamelukes threw themselves against the solid squares of the French; at last, harassed by the fire of the French artillery, they fell back toward the capital.

The French army then continued its way up the banks of the Nile to Embabeh, opposite Cairo. There the Mamelukes had their fortified camp, and there that superb cavalry was waiting to overwhelm the invaders. On the 21 July the French arrived in sight of the capital, and the same day was fought the Battle of the Pyramids. No more dramatic engagement had been fought since the

days of the Crusaders. Beside the two armies rolled the mysterious Nile; beyond glittered the slender minarets of Cairo, and on the south there loomed the massive pyramids. Napoleon raised the enthusiasm of his soldiers to the highest pitch by his address:

"Soldiers! You have come to rescue Egypt from barbarism; to bring civilization into the East; and to save this beautiful land from the yoke of England. Forty centuries are looking down on you from the tops of these monuments!"

The Mamelukes attacked in great numbers, but all their brilliant charges failed against the intrepidity of the French squares. Never were charges better made or better sustained. Finally the Mamelukes fled in disorder, leaving a large part of their forces dead on the field of battle. Murad retired with the wreck of his command to Upper Egypt. From Cairo, Ibrahim, who had not taken part in the battle, fled to the east toward the Syrian desert. About 2000 Mamelukes were slain, while only fifty French were killed and about 200 wounded. Many fine horses were captured and piles of beautiful weapons; and large sums of gold were taken by the French, as the Mamelukes were in the habit of carrying their valuables on their persons.

Napoleon's first headquarters were installed at Gizeh where the palace of Murad furnished him a luxurious residence. He was compelled to await the arrival of his flotilla in order to cross to Cairo, which was then a city of 200,000 souls. On the twenty-second the French occupied the town and citadel, and two days later Napoleon moved his headquarters there.

Desaix was sent to Upper Egypt in pursuit of Murad, while Bonaparte himself left Cairo on the seventh of August in pursuit of Ibrahim, who was driven into the Syrian desert and took refuge at Gaza. Bonaparte then returned to Cairo, where he learned of the destruction of his fleet by Nelson.

On the third of July, before leaving Alexandria, Na-

poleon had given orders to his admiral to report to him at once whether it was possible for the fleet to enter the port of Alexandria, and if not, whether he could defend himself in Aboukir roads against the superior forces of the enemy. In case neither of these plans was practicable, he was directed to set sail immediately for Corfu and Toulon. The admiral thought his position was impregnable, and remained in the harbor of Aboukir. Here he was attacked by Nelson on the evening of the first of August. The battle lasted thirty-six hours and ended in the destruction of nearly all of the French fleet. Brueys by a glorious death expiated his fault which proved so fatal to the French.

This disaster was a severe blow to Bonaparte. But in order to restore the *moral* of his army, he affected a confidence which he could no longer feel. Even some of his highest officers complained of their miserable position.

The versatility of Napoleon's genius was never more marked than at this time of discouragement, and with his *savants* he developed constructive powers of the highest order which made the army independent of Europe. The food supply was increased by extending the cultivation of corn and rice; windmills were constructed for grinding corn, as well as large ovens and bakeries. Founderies and workshops soon began to supply tools and machinery, even gunpowder was manufactured.

Much also was done to extend the bounds of learning. Astronomy gained much by the observations of Caffarelli. An exact survey of Egypt was begun; the engineers and geologists examined the course of the Nile and made records of the alluvial deposits at its mouth and on its banks. "The motherland of science and learning after a well-nigh barren interval of 1100 years since the Arab conquest," says Rose, "was now developed and illumined by the application of the arts with which in the dim past she had enriched the life of barbarous Europe. The repayment of this incalculable debt was due primarily to the enterprise of Bonaparte. It is one of his many titles

to fame and to the homage of posterity. How poor by the side of this encyclopedic genius are the gifts even of his most brilliant foes! At that same time the Archduke Charles of Austria was vegetating in glorious ease on his estates. Nelson after his recent triumph was bending before the whims of a professional beauty. While the Admiral tarnished his fame on the Siren coast of Naples, his great opponent bent all the resources of a fertile intellect to retrieve his position, and, even under the gloom of disaster, threw a gleam of light into the dark continent."

Meanwhile, Turkey, encouraged by the destruction of the French fleet, had declared war on France and was sending an army through Syria for the recovery of Egypt, while another expedition was assembling at Rhodes. Bonaparte, as usual, decided to take the initiative and to attack and destroy the Syrian force before the cessation of the winter's gales would allow the other Turkish expedition to attempt a landing at Aboukir.

The fertile Delta of the Nile is separated from Syria by the desert of El Jofar. Across this desert run several caravan routes, the most northerly of which crosses parallel to the coast from a point located on the present Suez Canal via El Arish to Gaza. It is an old travelled route about 150 miles long, with a fair supply of wells at convenient distances. The sea being closed to the French by the disaster of Aboukir, the only way of reaching Syria was to follow the path for centuries covered by the caravans.

The first of January 1799 there were about 30,000 French troops in Egypt, of whom nearly 13,000 were detailed for the Syrian expedition. Desaix with 10,000 troops was left in Upper Egypt, while Marmont, with about 7000 men, was in Lower Egypt. The divisions of Kléber, Bon, Lannes, and Reynier, each of about 2500 men, formed the Syrian Army, together with the cavalry of Murat, about 800 strong, and some 2000 "Guides," Camel-riders, Sappers and Artillerymen. A good siege equipment was to go to Jaffa by sea. Engineers had cleared

out the wells on the road; camels with water went ahead of the columns; and the divisions were ordered to march at a day's distance apart, to avoid overtaxing the limited water supply.

Bonaparte left Cairo on the tenth of February. Reynier, who commanded the advance column, had reached El Arish the previous day, and found the place held by 2000 men. He immediately attacked and drove the garrison into the fort with a loss of about 500 men. Two days later Kléber came up, and on the sixteenth Bonaparte himself arrived. After considerable correspondence, the fort finally surrendered on the nineteenth.

The army then proceeded to Gaza which was reached after a very fatiguing march of forty-eight hours. All the army united near this city, which had been evacuated by the enemy, leaving the French in possession of its great magazines.

Gaza, which to-day is an important place of 40,000 inhabitants, was then only a small town. It will be remembered in Biblical history as the place whose gates were carried off by Samson on his stalwart shoulders, and where he pulled down the pillars of the house and slew 3000 Philistines. Alexander had to besiege the town for two months before he could enter the gates, but Napoleon took it without firing a shot.

On the third of March the army reached Jaffa, which was carried by assault three days later. Contrary to the orders of Bonaparte, some 2000 prisoners were taken, and the question at once arose as to what was to be done with these men. If they were kept they would consume rations, and the army was already short of food. If, on the other hand, they were released, they would probably rejoin the Turks. As a matter of fact, a part of them had already been discharged at El Arish on their promise not to serve again against the French, and they were now taken in arms. It was a difficult problem and it was solved in the least merciful way: the Turks were taken out and shot down. This incident has been one of the most severely

criticized in Bonaparte's career, yet it is justified by most modern military writers on the ground that a general cannot afford to sacrifice the vital interests of his army to those of humanity.

The main Turkish force, under Ahmed Bey, known as Djezzar ("the Butcher"), was at Saint-Jean-d'Acre. Djezzar had taken every means for the defence of the place, which was invested on the eighteenth of March. The fortifications consisted of a wall flanked by towers and surrounded by a ditch. The French means of attack were not even sufficient to overcome these slight obstacles, for Sidney Smith, commanding the English cruisers, had captured the French siege train which had been sent from Alexandria by sea, and had mounted the guns on the walls.

Associated with Djezzar in defence of Acre were two men who had crossed the path of Napoleon in other years and in other lands. One of them was a young English sailor of fortune, who after serving with the Swedish and Turkish fleets had joined the British Navy and was at Toulon when it fell under the fire of Napoleon's batteries. This was Sidney Smith. The other ally of Djezzar was a Frenchman, a graduate of the Ecole Militaire in Paris and a classmate of Napoleon. At the school they had quarrelled constantly. This was Phélippeaux, an aristocrat by birth and an enemy of the Republic.

Saint-Jean-d'Acre was a place of considerable importance which had figured largely in the Crusades, being taken and retaken several times during the twelfth century. After this it was held for a hundred years by the Knights of Saint John and was the last Christian stronghold in Palestine. It stands on a peninsula with an exposed and useless harbor, but Haifa at the south of it has a large and fairly well-protected roadstead. The place has sometimes been called the key of Palestine.

In 1799 the works had fallen somewhat into decay, although Djezzar had done much to repair the defences on the land side. The French trenches were opened on the 20 March and the first assault was made eight days later.

Napoleon now received intelligence of the approach of a Turkish army from Damascus and Palestine. To meet this hostile force Kléber was dispatched toward the Jordan with his division and also Murat with his detachment of cavalry. A few days later, learning that the enemy had passed the Jordan and that Kléber was about to be attacked, Napoleon flew to his assistance. Leaving the camp before Acre on the 15 April, the next morning he arrived in sight of the enemy, near Mont-Tabor. The Turkish forces, about 20,000 strong, entirely surrounded the division of Kléber who was maintaining his position with great bravery. On the arrival of Bonaparte with reinforcements, the enemy, already discouraged by the stout resistance of Kléber's squares, fled in disorder. This singular victory had such an effect upon the Turks that they did not venture to trouble the French again during the siege.

Mont-Tabor is the most historic of all of Napoleon's extraordinary battle-fields. It is "a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon." The night after the battle Napoleon slept in the monastery of Annunciation where the Fathers have treasured since the bedroom where the young warrior rested.

In the meantime the siege was pushed with obstinacy but with little success. The Turks defended themselves with great valor. Five assaults had already been made, when a flotilla appeared, which had been fitted out at Rhodes to reprovision the port. Seeking to anticipate this succor, Napoleon ordered another assault to be made on the eighth of May, which was also repulsed. He was therefore obliged to prepare to retreat, but was unwilling to retire without making one more attempt. On the morning and the evening of the tenth of May, the attack was renewed for the seventh and eighth times. Led with reckless gallantry by the heroic Lannes, the troops gained part of the wall and planted the tricolor on the northeast tower. But all further progress was checked by the English marines who had poured into the town and the Turkish reinforcements which were landed in time to save the

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day. Lannes himself was dangerously wounded in the neck and was saved only by the devotion of a fellow-officer. For the remainder of his life he was obliged to carry his head on one side.

On the 22 May the siege was raised and the troops were started on their return to Egypt. It was a great disappointment to Napoleon. At the height of his European triumphs he was heard to say, "J'ai manqué à ma fortune à Saint-Jean-d'Acre."

There were two very serious reasons for his retreat, aside from the repulse before the walls of the town. He had just heard of the formation of the Second Coalition against France, and also of revolts in Egypt which demanded his attention.

Napoleon's 400-mile retreat from Acre down the Syrian coast, across the plains of Palestine and the desert of El Tih was an anticipation in miniature of the terrible retreat from Moscow through the snows of a Russian winter. On his return march Napoleon ordered all the horses to be given over to the sick and wounded and set the example by himself marching on foot.

On his arrival at Jaffa many of the garrison left there in the advance on Acre were found in the hospital, some with "the plague." All but a very few of the sick were taken away when the French left the place and the rest were found living by Sidney Smith on his arrival three days after the French army had departed. There is therefore not the slightest truth in the statement frequently made that Napoleon ordered the doctors to poison the soldiers whom he was not able to take with him.

After a painful march Napoleon reached Cairo with the main body of his troops on the 14 June.

Towards the end of July the Mamelukes under the command of Murad descended towards Gizeh and again appeared in Lower Egypt. While making preparations to attack them, Napoleon heard that 15,000 Turks had just landed from the fleet of Rhodes at Aboukir and had carried by assault the fort at that place. He immediately marched

on Alexandria, and on the 25 July attacked the Turks at Aboukir and defeated them with great slaughter. Many of the enemy endeavored to regain the vessels, and all who were not killed in the battle perished in the waves, except about 2000 men who made their escape into the fort and were later taken prisoners.

While making some arrangements with Sidney Smith under a flag of truce after the battle, Napoleon sent him a chest of coffee and a case of brandy. In return for these gifts, Smith sent him a batch of European newspapers, only six weeks old. From these Napoleon learned of the reverses of the French armies in Italy and on the Rhine and of the disorganized and disgraceful state of affairs under the Directory at Paris. Under these circumstances he decided that it was his duty to return to France. He had no motive for prolonging his stay in Egypt. The country was completely conquered and the only task left was to guard it. Kléber, who was left in command, was as capable as any one of carrying out Napoleon's plans.

Napoleon therefore set sail for France on the 24 August with four small vessels. He was accompanied by Lannes and Murat, both recently wounded, as well as by Berthier, Duroc, Marmont, Bessières, and Lavalette. He also took with him his secretary, Bourrienne, and Eugène de Beauharnais.

Sir Sidney Smith having gone to Cyprus for repairs, Napoleon slipped out unmolested. A northwest wind obliged the vessels to run close to the African coast, and they took twenty days to make three hundred miles. By great good fortune the frigates eluded the English ships cruising between Malta and Cape Bon. Finally an east wind came up and Sardinia was reached and then Corsica. In the port of Ajaccio Napoleon was detained for nine days by adverse winds. There full news was received of the French reverses in Italy. Finally, on the seventh of October, the wind having become favorable, he sailed for France. The following evening when the mountains of Provence were in full sight, by the rays of the setting sun

a fleet of English vessels was seen on the horizon. All on board thought they would certainly be captured. Bonaparte alone kept his usual calm. He pointed out to the officers of the ship that the setting sun which lighted up the sails of the English vessels on the horizon would leave in the shadow the sails of his frigates. "Nous voyons," he said, "et nous ne sommes pas vus. Courage, donc!" On the morning of the 9 October, at eight o'clock, they entered the bay of Saint-Raphaël, a short distance from Fréjus. The voyage had lasted forty-six days.

As soon as it was known that Bonaparte had returned the shore was covered with a multitude of people. Napoleon had feared that he might be detained by quarantine regulations but the crowd cried: "No quarantine for you! The plague rather than the Austrians!" A horse was brought to him which he mounted, and amidst the acclamations of the crowds he entered Fréjus where he remained only a few hours. His route to Paris was one long triumph. At Aix, at Avignon, at Valence, he was received with indescribable transports of enthusiasm. Arrived at Lyon he remained a day, and in the evening went to the theatre, where he was obliged to conceal himself in the back of his *loge*. At midnight he again set out, but instead of taking the usual route towards Mâcon, he went by way of the Bourbonnais, travelling in a *voiture de poste* at great speed, not stopping by night or day.

Paris had been notified by telegraph of the return of the hero, and the evening of the 10 October, while dining at the Luxembourg with Gohier, the President of the Directory, Joséphine was informed of the landing of her husband. That same night she left Paris to meet Napoleon en route, but as she took the usual road through Bourgogne, while he was following the route of the Bourbonnais, she was not successful in meeting him, and he reached Paris before she could return.

Napoleon arrived in Paris on the morning of the 16 October. He went directly to his house in the Rue de la Victoire where, as upon his return from Italy, he found

no one to receive him. His brothers, in the absence of Joséphine, took every means to arouse his wrath and jealousy, and he began to talk at once of a separation or a divorce. Upon Joséphine's return he refused to see her and remained locked up in his room. Finally, at the suggestion of a friend, she sent for her children, Eugène and Hortense, who on their arrival joined their supplications to those of their mother. Napoleon finally decided to open the door, and when his brothers arrived the following morning, they found that all had been forgotten and forgiven.

Notwithstanding all of Joséphine's faults, real or imaginary, Napoleon was very wise in effecting a reconciliation with his wife. Separation at that time would have caused a scandal which might have interfered seriously with his plans. He did well to cut short the accusations of his brothers and to employ his activities in more serious matters than family troubles. With her perfect tact and consummate knowledge of the society of Paris and the political world, Joséphine proved very useful in his plans.

If the expedition to Egypt was not beneficial to France, it was to Napoleon. He always had the talent of placing his successes in the limelight, while he left his reverses in the shadow. Egypt was far away, and the French heard only of the brilliant victories of Bonaparte. The expedition was not a success, and yet for him it served as a footstool to the throne.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1799

THE COUP D'ÉTAT

France During the Year Seven — The Bonapartes at Paris — The Second Coalition — French Defeats and Victories — Difficulties of the Government — Sieyès Elected Director — His Schemes — The Return of Bonaparte — Preparations for the Coup d'État — The Rôle of the Ancients — The Generals at Bonaparte's House — The 18 Brumaire at Paris — Resignations of Barras, Sieyès and Ducos — The Councils at Saint-Cloud — Events of the 19 Brumaire — The Day Saved by Lucien — Constitution of the Year Eight — Bonaparte, First Consul — His Extensive Powers — Centralization of the Government — Success of the New Régime

DURING the Year Seven of the Republic, which Napoleon spent in Egypt, many important events occurred in France of which he was ignorant on account of the interruption of communications by the English cruisers. Too royalist for the Republicans, too republican for the Royalists, the Directory was no longer taken seriously. The fêtes of the Luxembourg had lost their prestige, and every one was looking toward that part of the horizon where the rising sun was to appear. Although several aristocratic salons had been opened they were but little frequented. But, on the other hand, the theatres, the subscription balls, the public gardens and the cafés were crowded. All parties were awaiting the return of Bonaparte. The Parisian public was more preoccupied with the banks of the Nile than with those of the Seine. The Paris of the Year Seven foreshadowed the Paris of the Consulate and of the Empire. The change in manners arrived before the change in politics.

After the embarkment of her husband at Toulon, Joséphine did not return directly to Paris but went to

take the waters at Plombières where she remained three months. Here she received the first news of the Egyptian expedition, from the taking of Malta to the occupation of Cairo, and learned by Bonaparte's letters that she must give up the idea of rejoining him. Later she heard that the frigate "Pomone" upon which she was to have sailed for Egypt had been captured by an English cruiser upon leaving Toulon. At the end of the month of September 1798 Joséphine was back in Paris. At this time she bought for 160,000 francs the estate of Malmaison situated near the village of Rueil. Here she passed the autumn of 1798 as well as the summer season of 1799. During the winter she lived in Paris at her little hôtel in the Rue de la Victoire.

During the winter season in Paris Joséphine was very prominent in society. The life of the capital suited her perfectly. She loved balls, dinners, concerts and the theatre. A perfect *femme de salon*, she presided with a real talent over a circle of friends and admirers. Her Thursday receptions at her hôtel in the Rue de la Victoire had a well-deserved reputation.

Joséphine frequented the society both of the Royalists and the Republicans. She was present at all the fêtes of the Directory and was in the good graces of the official world. Her relations with Barras continued to be excellent. With all her frivolous airs she manœuvred like a consummate diplomatist. The greatest of men have been helped by their wives. Without Joséphine it is possible that Napoleon never would have become Emperor. In spite of his orders to her not to mingle in political affairs, she was one of the most efficacious promoters of his plans, and during his absence she adroitly prepared for him the field of action.

With the Bonapartes, Joséphine showed much tact. She concealed her dislike and had the art to keep on good terms with all the members of the family. Before his departure for Egypt, Napoleon had wished to see his mother, and his brothers and sisters, well settled at Paris. During

his absence his mother exercised a great authority over the family. She was an energetic woman, endowed with an imperious character and an iron will, firm to the point of obstinacy. Economical even to avarice for herself, she was very prodigal in everything which touched the glory of her son Napoleon. Although very kind-hearted, she appeared to be very cold. She was unable to pardon Joséphine her frivolous manners, her prodigality, and her exaggerated love of dress. She would have wished for Napoleon a wife who was more serious and more economical, and regretted a marriage which she thought could not bring happiness to her son.

Joseph, the eldest of the family, was a worthy man, kind and sympathetic, with courteous manners and an agreeable face. Having married an heiress, Mlle. Julie Clary, he possessed quite a considerable fortune for that time. After having been ambassador of the French Republic at Rome, he had returned to Paris bringing with him his wife's sister, Mlle. Désirée Clary, whom Napoleon had once thought of marrying. While at Rome, her fiancé, General Duphot, had been killed three days before the date set for their marriage. After several months of mourning she found consolation, and in August 1798, at the home of Joseph in Paris, she married Bernadotte, the future King of Sweden.

Lucien was the youngest of the deputies of the Council of Five Hundred. He was a man of rare intelligence, of solid instruction, with a real passion for literature. In spite of his youth he exercised a great influence over his colleagues. In 1794 while filling the position of a modest employé in the warehouse of the little village of Saint-Maximin he had married the daughter of an inn-keeper, Catherine Boyer. Although his wife had no education she was pretty and sweet and was soon able to hold her place in the most fashionable salons.

Louis Bonaparte had accompanied his brother to Egypt as aide de camp, but during the course of the expedition he returned to Paris as a bearer of dispatches. Although

later he was to be more hostile towards Joséphine than either Joseph or Lucien, at this time he was on amicable terms with his sister-in-law, who was already thinking of him as a son-in-law.

The youngest of the brothers of Napoleon, Jérôme, then a boy of fifteen, was amiable, intelligent and mischievous, fond of pleasure, and much bored at having young Eugène de Beauharnais constantly held up before him as a model. Mme. Letitia resided with her son Joseph. Of the three sisters of Napoleon, Elisa and Pauline were both living in Paris with their husbands. The youngest sister, Caroline, was finishing her education at Saint-Germain at the school of Madame Campan, where Hortense de Beauharnais was also a pupil. The demoiselles Bonaparte had inherited the beauty of their mother, especially Pauline, who was considered the most beautiful woman in Paris.

It was by no means easy for Joséphine to remain on friendly, not to say affectionate terms, with this numerous and powerful family. The Bonapartes had only begun to show their antagonism towards the Beauharnais which was to cause so much friction during the Empire.

Besides these family troubles, Joséphine had money difficulties. She spent exorbitant sums for her toilette, and her household was marked by a strange mélange of luxury and misery. She had superb jewels but was often short of money to pay her smallest debts. Joséphine, however, with her Creole *nonchalance*, did not take her pecuniary embarrassments seriously. Amiable, affectionate, endowed with sweet manners and an even disposition, very kind-hearted, she could well be called a *charmeuse*. She never offended any one. She never entered into any discussions, either on politics or on any other subject. She was devoted to her friends and forgiving to her enemies. She had to a supreme degree the qualities that caused every one to overlook her faults.

During the absence of Bonaparte in Egypt the Directory had reversed his policy in regard to the two principal states of southern Italy. Both Rome and Naples were

occupied by the French troops and republics were established. The King of Sardinia was also compelled to abdicate, and retired to his island. The alarm and indignation caused by these acts led to the formation of the Second Coalition against France. Russia and Austria took the leading part, and Naples, Portugal and Turkey also entered the league, while Great Britain offered to supply money in place of troops which she was not in a position to furnish. All of these States were actuated by different motives, and there was no unanimity of action. Nevertheless they gained several victories over the raw recruits of France. In July 1799 an Austro-Russian army captured Mantua and Alessandria, and the following month Suvaroff gained a decisive victory at Novi and drove the French forces back to Genoa.

The operations of the next few months were more favorable to the tricolor, and Masséna decisively defeated the Russian army near Zurich. Ten days before Bonaparte's return the French armies in the North were also successful, and compelled the English to retire from Holland. Disgusted by the conduct of his allies, the Czar Paul of Russia withdrew his troops from all active operations.

The difficulties of the French Government, however, were rather internal than external. The finances were embarrassed, and the Government was harassed by a new outbreak of the Royalists in the Vendée. The struggle between the different factions, so rudely settled by the revolution of Fructidor, had been postponed rather than decided. The element opposed to the tyrannical methods of the Directory continued to gain ground and even succeeded in electing a large number of the new deputies.

The dearth of true statesmanship at this time was shown by the advancement of Abbé Sieyès. Perhaps no man ever attained political prominence on performances so slight as this former abbé. In the States-General he had acquired a reputation as an orator from his brevity and wit, but during the Revolution his career had been insignificant. Under the Directory he was sent as ambassador to Berlin.

While there, in May 1799, he was elected to the Directory. The other Directors had attempted to prevent his election, and on his return to Paris he declared his hostility to the Government. He at once began to look around for a military chief to serve his purposes. His first choice, Joubert, lost his life at the battle of Novi. He next made advances to Moreau, but without much success. He succeeded, however, in gaining the adhesion of Barras. With his assistance he got rid of the three strongly republican members of the Directory, in place of whom were elected Gohier, an elderly, respectable advocate; Roger-Ducos, a former Girondist, and Molins. Bernadotte was appointed Minister of War and speedily raised a new army of 100,000 men. Such was the position of affairs on Bonaparte's return.

On the 19 Vendémiaire the Deputies were in session at the Palais-Bourbon. Suddenly one of the messengers of the Directory made his appearance with the announcement that news had been received from Egypt: "General Berthier landed at Fréjus on the seventeenth of this month with General Bonaparte. . . ." Nobody listened to the rest. The Deputies, whatever their party, were on their feet shouting and cheering. The galleries rang with acclamations. There was a moment of wild delight. As soon as the news spread in the city, Paris, which had been lying senseless and almost dead, sprang to her feet, quivering with delight, laughing, weeping; men were seen exchanging frantic embraces, rushing hither and thither for news. One name was heard in every direction: "Bonaparte! Bonaparte!" Bonaparte had landed.

Thiébault relates that he happened to turn into the Palais-Royal and there beheld a most extraordinary sight. Men were clustered about a passer-by who shouted and gesticulated as he hurried along; then the groups broke up, and each individual ran off like lightning, as though to deliver some miraculous piece of news. One of these, as he ran, knocked against our chronicler and shouted to him as he fled, "General Bonaparte has landed at Fréjus!"

Within an hour all Paris was making holiday and military bands were crashing out triumphal marches in the street. On every side congratulations and embraces were exchanged. In every theatre that night an actor came upon the stage and announced the news amidst the wild plaudits of the audience, and in every tavern glasses were emptied in honor of the return.

Napoleon on his arrival at once saw the advantages of an alliance with a weak man like Sieyès who had a great talent for intrigue combined with small intelligence. In a short time he drew to his side all the malcontents who had lost office through the recent political changes, such as Talleyrand and Cambacérès. The former had been dismissed from office in the month of July because of his notorious acceptance of bribes from foreign governments.

Most of the generals were also dissatisfied and ready for a change, with the exception of Bernadotte and Jourdan, who refused to listen to any proposals. The assistance of the great power of the police was also secured through the adhesion of the new prefect, the former regicide Fouché.

With Sieyès, Barras and Ducos as traitors in the Directory, with the Ancients favorable, and the Five Hundred under the presidency of Lucien, with the soldiers and police on his side, Napoleon's plans seemed sure of success.

Immediately upon his return, Napoleon became aware of the distrust of the Directory. The very day of his arrival he went to the Luxembourg to call on the president, Gohier. Among the Directors, the chief of the Moderate party was the former Abbé Sieyès. Moreau, celebrated for his victories, was a possible rival. Gohier invited Napoleon and Joséphine to dinner to meet Sieyès, but Napoleon during the repast would not say a word to Sieyès and did not even look in his direction. Sieyès left the table in a rage. After the dinner Moreau arrived. It was the first interview between the two illustrious generals, who appeared to be flattered at meeting each other. A few days later, as a token of friendship, Bonaparte sent Moreau a

sabre enriched with diamonds. Napoleon was so successful in winning his good will that the day of the 18 Brumaire Moreau guarded at the Luxembourg the Directors who did not wish to take part in the coup d'état.

During the preparations for the coming event, Joséphine exercised a real influence over men like Barras, Gohier, Sieyès, Fouché, Moreau and Talleyrand, and perhaps without her tact Napoleon's plans might have failed. During this period he was more simple than usual in his manners. He concealed his brilliant uniform under the gray great-coat which was destined to become legendary. Every party thought that he was in its favor. He made use of all without attaching himself to any. "The Directory," he said later, "trembled at my return; I was very careful what I did; this was one of the epochs of my life when I was most careful. I saw the Abbé Sieyès and promised to put in operation his verbose constitution; I received the chiefs of the Jacobins, the agents of the Bourbons; I refused the counsels of no one, but I gave no advice except in the interest of my plans. Every one thought that he had an iron in the fire, and, when I became head of the State, there was not in France a party which did not feel pleased with my success."

On the fourth of November Bonaparte was present at a subscription banquet which was offered to him by five or six hundred members of the two Councils. The place was the Temple de la Victoire, formerly the Church of Saint-Sulpice. It was not a very joyous occasion. Every one looked on and no one had anything to say. Seated by the side of Gohier, president of the Directory, Bonaparte had an air at once sombre and bored. He ate nothing but bread and drank only the wine brought to him by his aide de camp. He did not even remain until the end of the banquet. Rising brusquely from the table he made a tour of the room, said a few words to some of the principal guests and then retired.

In his "Souvenirs," Arnault has described the reception

that evening at the hôtel in the Rue de la Victoire. Joséphine did the honors of her salon with more than her usual grace. There were present men from all the parties: generals, deputies, Royalists, Jacobins and even the president of the Directory. The evening passed the same as usual. Little by little the salon became empty. Fouché and Gohier, among the last to go, took leave of Joséphine, who went to her apartment. Arnault was the last to leave. He asked Bonaparte if the affair was still set for the following day and said that he would like to have his instructions. Napoleon replied that it had been put off until the eighteenth as the Ancients could not make up their minds whether to act in coöperation with him, or against him.

The two following days Bonaparte and his adherents arranged the final details of their program, which was simple and ingenious. An article of the Constitution of the Year Three, then in force, authorized the Ancients in case of danger to the public weal to convoke the Corps Législatif, that is, both Councils, outside the capital in order to be free from the influence of the mob; also to choose a general and confide to him the command of the troops who were to protect the legislature. The Constitution also provided that from the moment that such a change of the place of meeting was voted there should be no discussion of the matter between the two chambers. It was arranged that this vote should be taken by the Ancients on the 18 Brumaire; that the new place of meeting should be the Palace of Saint-Cloud, and that Bonaparte should be put in command of the troops. The Ancients were to be convoked for eight o'clock in the Tuileries where the meetings were held. The Council of Five Hundred which was to meet at eleven o'clock would thus be obliged to submit without discussion.

The great question now was how, before the vote, to bring together, the first thing in the morning, the troops who were absolutely necessary to the success of the scheme. The 17th Division, whose headquarters were at

Paris, was not under Bonaparte's orders. He was not Minister of War and had no formal command of any kind. How, without arousing suspicions, under the very eyes of the Government, could they assemble the force which was to overthrow it? Several days before, the officers of the Army of Paris, and of the National Guard, had expressed a wish to pay their respects to General Bonaparte. It was decided that they should be received at his house the 18 Brumaire at six o'clock in the morning, and this very early hour was explained by a projected journey on the part of the General. Three regiments of cavalry had also solicited the honor of parading before him. They were informed that he would pass them in review at seven o'clock the same morning. For his trip from the house in the Rue de la Victoire to the Tuileries he needed an escort of cavalry. It was arranged that one of Napoleon's most devoted partisans, a Corsican, Colonel Sébastiani, should be invited to be present on horse back at his hotel at five o'clock in the morning with two hundred dragoons of his regiment. Sébastiani without asking orders from his superior officers accepted this appointment.

With a brilliant staff of generals and mounted officers, preceded and followed by the dragoons of his escort, Napoleon was to go in the morning to the Tuileries, the moment that the decree was voted by the Council of the Ancients. There he would receive the chief command of all the troops in garrison at Paris and in the suburbs and would be charged to guard the two Councils during the session of the following day at Saint-Cloud. During the day of the eighteenth, Barras would also be persuaded to give his resignation, which following those of Sieyès and Roger-Ducos would disorganize the Directory. The other two members would be guarded by General Moreau at the Luxembourg. It was hoped that the Council of Five Hundred would not oppose these plans and that the revolution, masked under such legal appearances, would be carried through without violence.

At five o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth, Sébastiani sent eight hundred dragoons to occupy the Gardens of the Tuileries and the Place de la Revolution, now the Place de la Concorde, while he himself, with two hundred men of his regiment, took his place before the residence of General Bonaparte in the Rue de la Victoire. An hour later arrived Lefebvre, the commander of the military district. The orders had been sent to the different regiments without his knowledge and he was surprised to perceive the dragoons of Sébastiani. But Bonaparte had no trouble in gaining him to his cause. "Here," said he, "is the Turkish sabre which I bore at the Battle of the Pyramids. Accept it. Do you, who are one of the bravest defenders of our country, wish to see it perish in the hands of the lawyers who are ruining it?" Lefebvre, overcome with joy, cried, "Let us throw the lawyers at once into the river."

The hôtel and garden were soon filled with officers in full uniform. The only one in civilian costume was Bernadotte, who refused the solicitations of Napoleon.

In the meantime at the Tuileries the session of the Council of the Ancients had begun at eight o'clock. After a short debate it was voted that the Corps Législatif should meet at Saint-Cloud at noon on the following day, the two Councils sitting in the two wings of the Palace; that General Bonaparte should be charged with the execution of the present decree; and that all the troops in Paris and the vicinity should be immediately put under his orders, and furthermore that General Bonaparte should be sent for to receive his commission and take the necessary oath.

As soon as this vote had been taken a messenger was sent to summon Bonaparte from his hôtel. He immediately mounted his horse, and followed by a brilliant escort, among whom could be distinguished Moreau, Macdonald, Lefebvre, Berthier, Lannes, Marmont and Murat, he set out for the Tuileries escorted by the dragoons of Sébastiani.

There were very few people around the Palace, as every one was ignorant of what was going on. The gates of the Gardens, which were occupied by the troops, were closed. Bonaparte traversed the Gardens and, dismounting in front of the Pavillon de l'Horloge, presented himself before the Council of the Ancients. Here he delivered a short address in which he carefully avoided the matter of the oath to support the Constitution. Only one deputy noticed the omission and before he had a chance to speak the session was adjourned.

Bonaparte now descended to the Gardens where he passed in review the troops, who hailed him with enthusiastic acclamations.

When the Council of Five Hundred met at eleven o'clock the deputies learned with indignation of the decree of the Ancients, but their president, Lucien Bonaparte, who had just been elected to that office in honor of his brother, stated that the Constitution was explicit on the point, and that no debate was possible. Nothing remained except to arrange to meet at Saint-Cloud the following day.

Of the five Directors, two, Sieyès and Roger-Ducos, had already handed in their resignations as arranged. A third, Barras, upon the demand of Talleyrand, now followed their example, and left Paris for his estate, Grosbois.

Very well satisfied with the events of the morning, Napoleon returned to his residence, where he found Joséphine happy and reassured. All the preparations had been carried out as planned. Moreau was occupying the Luxembourg, Lannes the Tuileries, and Murat the Château of Saint-Cloud.

The revolution carried out by Bonaparte is called in history the coup d'état of the 18 Brumaire. Nevertheless the 18 Brumaire was only the prelude. The decisive day was that of the nineteenth. The night passed quietly. The following morning the route from Paris to Saint-Cloud was covered with troops, and carriages filled with curiosity-seekers.

The Château of Saint-Cloud was situated about five miles from Paris on the road to Versailles, almost under the shadow of Mont-Valérien which to-day is crowned by the big gray fortress which was the last stronghold of Paris in the Franco-Prussian war. The Germans were in possession of Saint-Cloud and the Château was destroyed by the shots from the French guns. After the war the ruined walls were torn down and to-day there are only gardens where stood the palace of the Bourbons and the Bonapartes.

A little before mid-day Bonaparte, on horseback, was stationed in front of the Château of Saint-Cloud at the head of his troops. The Ancients were to meet on the first floor in the Galérie d'Apollon and the Five Hundred in the Orangerie. As the rooms were not ready at the hour set for the meeting the Chambers did not come together until two o'clock in the afternoon.

Finally Lucien Bonaparte took his seat in the presidential chair and the proceedings of the lower chamber opened. The only business transacted was the adoption of a resolution that the members should renew their oath to maintain the Constitution. At the same time the Ancients had also met, and a proposal was put forward that the three vacancies in the Directory should be filled.

Until this moment Bonaparte had remained secluded in a room of the palace to which he had withdrawn, but becoming dissatisfied with the appearance of affairs he now descended, and accompanied by his chief of staff, Berthier, and his secretary, Bourrienne, he presented himself at the entrance of the Council of Ancients. Here he delivered a short address which was full of blunders. More accustomed to the field of battle than to the atmosphere of a deliberate assembly he became more and more embarrassed. Finally he was persuaded to leave the hall. He next proceded to the Orangerie in which the Five Hundred were meeting. He was received with shouts of "Down with the Dictator! Down with the Tyrant!" and a voice cried: "Hors la loi!" (Outlaw him!) Five years before,

this cry had sounded the knell of Robespierre, and Bonaparte appeared lost. But Murat and his officers, with a few grenadiers, forced their way through the crowd and escorted their general to safety. For a short time he retired again to his room and then descended to the courtyard and mounted his horse.

This entry of Bonaparte into the Council of Five Hundred had resulted in a formal motion of outlawry and it was fortunate for him that his brother was president of the Assembly. In this crisis, Lucien showed as much resourcefulness and coolness as Napoleon had impetuosity and rashness. He declined to receive the motion and, claiming his right to speak, he left the presidential chair and ascended the tribune. Finding it impossible to make his voice heard against the howls of the deputies, he sent a message which resulted in the appearance of half a dozen grenadiers who escorted him from the hall. Mounting a horse he addressed the soldiers in ringing tones, declaring that the Assembly was dominated by a band of assassins, that his life and that of his brother were no longer safe, and that he, as president of the Assembly, called on them to restore order. He was greeted with loud shouts of "Vive Bonaparte!" Murat gave the orders and the drums beat the charge. Followed by the infantry, Murat made for the door of the council chamber. At the sight of the troops, the legislators hurried to leave the hall, most of them by the windows, and the room was soon cleared.

On Sunday evening, the 10 November 1799, immediately after the eventful day of the 19 Brumaire, a "rump" of the two Councils, under the presidency of Lucien Bonaparte, met in the now deserted halls of the Palace of Saint-Cloud, and unanimously voted to remove the Directors, and appoint in their place three Consuls, Sieyès, Ducos and Bonaparte. The meeting then adjourned for four months, after appointing a commission to coöperate with the Consuls in the preparation of a new constitution.

Thus was fulfilled the prophecy made eight years before by Edmund Burke in his "Reflections on the Revolution in France," that French liberty would fall a victim to

the first great general who drew the eyes of all men to himself.

The Constitution of the Year Eight, the fourth since the founding of the Republic, was hastily prepared and went into effect a month later. It was principally the work of Bonaparte, and was designed to put supreme power in his hands. The result was the organization of the Consulate which lasted for five years, from 1799 to 1804.

In a plébiscite held in the early days of January, the Constitution was ratified by the overwhelming majority of over three million votes against about fifteen thousand in the negative. It was a remarkable verdict of the nation, and gave Bonaparte the soundest of titles to power.

At this time Sieyès and Ducos resigned their temporary positions as consuls and were rewarded with seats in the Senate. The two new consuls were Cambacérès and Lebrun. The former was a learned jurist and a very tactful man; the latter was a moderate with leanings towards a constitutional monarchy. Both were to prove valuable assistants to Bonaparte, Cambacérès being intrusted with the general oversight of legislation, and Lebrun with that of finance. The new ministry included Talleyrand, Foreign Affairs; Berthier, War; Lucien Bonaparte, Interior; and Fouché, the Police.

The three Consuls, who were to serve for the term of ten years, should have been chosen by the new Senate, but in order to put the new Government into immediate operation the Constitution designated who they should be: Bonaparte, First Consul; Cambacérès, the second, and Lebrun, the third.

Practically all the executive powers were placed in the hands of the First Consul. He was to appoint ministers, ambassadors, the officers of the army and the navy, and numerous civil officers, including the judges. He had the power to make war and peace and negotiate treaties subject to the approval of the Corps Législatif.

The First Consul was also to have the initiative in all legislation. Bills were to be prepared by a Council of State, and were then to be submitted to a Tribunate, which had

the right to discuss them but not to vote them. They then went to the Legislative Body, which had the power to vote them but not to discuss them. The Senate, a third body, higher than the others, was to be the guardian of the Constitution, and was also to elect the Consuls, the members of the Tribunate and the Legislature, through an elaborate system which it is unnecessary to describe in detail as it was only a sham.

All this elaborate machinery was designed to deceive the people and keep up the fiction of the continued existence of the Republic. As a matter of fact, Bonaparte was sovereign in all but name. To be sure, he was only elected for ten years, and had no power to bequeath his office to an heir, but all these details he was to arrange later.

He now secured the enactment of a law which placed all local government in his hands. There was to be a prefect in charge of the civil administration of each department, a sub-prefect for smaller divisions, and a mayor for every town or commune — all appointed from Paris. All local self-government thus came to an end, and the executive power was centralized in the capital even more effectually than under the Bourbon monarchy.

Every one was tired of the excesses of the Revolution and the continual changes in the government, and the nation was ready for a return to a safe and sane régime of law and order. The First Consul soon showed that he proposed to rally all factions to his support and adopt a non-partisan and thoroughly national policy. All regicides were excluded from high office except a few who, like Fouché, were too valuable to be dispensed with. The émigrés of Fructidor returned, and even declared Royalists were welcomed back. Equally generous was Bonaparte's treatment of the Roman Catholic Church. Priests were allowed to return and to officiate in places where no opposition was raised. The royalist rising in the Vendée was finally put down, and the Breton "Chouans," under their peasant leader, Georges Cadoudal, were crushed. Thus ended the civil war which for nearly seven years had devastated the heart of France.

CHAPTER NINE

1800

MARENGO

Bonaparte at the Luxembourg — Marriage of Caroline and Murat — The First Consul Moves to the Tuileries — The Life There — The Winter Season in Paris — The Military Situation — Improved Condition of France under Bonaparte — The Army of Reserve — The Theatre of War — The Opposing Forces — Napoleon's Plan of Campaign — Crossing of the Alps — Fort Bard — The French Army in Piedmont — Consternation of Mélas — Napoleon at Milan — The Army Crosses the Po — Battle of Montebello — Battle of Marengo — Defeat Turned to Victory — Death of Desaix — Results of the Campaign

THE day after the coup d'état of 19 Brumaire, the 11 November 1799, the three Consuls took up their residence in the Luxembourg. That evening the public buildings and many of the private houses were illuminated. Bonaparte, although sovereign in fact, was not yet in appearance: he considered the feelings of the Republicans; but little by little he began to accustom the people to his reign. Joséphine was no longer designated as the "Citizeness Bonaparte," but was called "Madame."

At the Petit-Luxembourg, Napoleon occupied the apartment on the ground floor, on the right as you enter from the Rue Vaugirard. His cabinet was near a private staircase which led to the first floor where Joséphine was lodged. After the déjeuner which was served at ten o'clock Bonaparte chatted a few minutes with his aides de camp and then set himself to work. The dinner was served at five o'clock. After this the First Consul went to Joséphine's apartment, where he received the visit of his ministers, and always with especial pleasure that of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Talleyrand. At midnight, and sometimes earlier, he gave the signal for retiring, saying brusquely, "Allons nous coucher!"

At the Luxembourg, Joséphine began to receive persons of the *ancien régime*. The title "Madame" still offended many Republicans, who regretted the change from the simplicity of "Citizeness." Napoleon began gradually to do away with the republican fêtes, while still preserving some revolutionary memories. He abolished the fête of the 21 January, anniversary of the death of Louis the Sixteenth, while keeping as national holidays the 14 July, the day of the Bastille, and the 1er Vendémiaire, commemorating the founding of the Republic. He allowed his wife to surround herself with members of the old Court, but he consented to the marriage of his youngest sister with a soldier of fortune, the son of the inn-keeper of Cahors.

On the 20 January 1800 at the Luxembourg was celebrated the civil marriage of Caroline Bonaparte with Murat, then only a general of division. The religious ceremony was not performed until two years later on the occasion of the marriage of Louis Bonaparte with Hortense de Beauharnais.

Murat, born the 25 March 1771, was not twenty-nine years of age at the time of his marriage, while Caroline, born the same day in 1782, was exactly eleven years younger. In the words of Madame Récamier: "Of all the sisters of Napoleon, Caroline was the one who most resembled him. She was not as perfectly beautiful as her sister Pauline, but she strongly possessed the Napoleonic type; she had much intelligence and an imperious will, and the contrast between the somewhat childish grace of her countenance and the decision of her character made her extremely attractive."

In the whole French Army there was no more striking cavalier than Murat. Young, handsome, full of life, with his brilliant uniforms, on the field of battle or in a review, he attracted the attention of every one. Nevertheless there was never much sympathy between Napoleon and his great cavalry commander, and he hesitated long before giving him the hand of his sister. But Murat and Caroline

KING MURAT

had been in love with each other since they first met during the Campaign of Italy, and Napoleon's opposition was finally overcome by the solicitations of Joséphine, who favored the match.

After living for three months in the Luxembourg, on the 19 February 1800, the First Consul moved to the Tuileries, which then became once more the official city residence of the ruler of France, and so remained until the destruction of the palace by the Commune seventy-one years later. The Bourbon kings, after the completion of the magnificent palace at Versailles, had preferred to live there.

At one o'clock in the afternoon, all Paris was on foot to see the brilliant procession pass from the Luxembourg to the Tuileries. Napoleon, who had been preceded by Joséphine, was in a carriage drawn by six white horses, and was escorted by three regiments commanded by Murat, Lannes and Bessières. The Carrousel was filled with an immense crowd of people who cried: "Vive le Premier Consul! Vive Bonaparte!"

From the gate of the Carrousel to the door of the Palace, the way was lined by the new Consular Guard. Many eyes were struck by the inscription which had not yet been erased at the side of the entrance gate: "Le 10 août 1792, la royauté en France est abolie; elle ne se relèvera jamais!"

As soon as the carriage had passed the gates, it stopped, and Bonaparte quickly descended and mounted a horse which was brought to him, while the other consuls, Cambacérès and Lebrun, entered the Palace. Taking his position before the Pavillon de l'Horloge, with Murat at his right, and Lannes at his left, Bonaparte gave the order for the review to begin. As the battle-flags of the three regiments were borne past him, the standards riddled by bullets on many a glorious field of Italy, the First Consul, with an expression of respectful emotion, removed his hat and saluted. At the end of the review, he dismounted and for the first time entered the royal palace.

It was not eight years since from the shop of Bourrienne's brother near the Carrousel he had watched the mob of Paris surging through the place and had seen the unfortunate King appear at the window with the red cap of the Revolution on his head!

In the Tuileries, Napoleon took possession of the suite of Louis the Fourteenth on the first floor, while Joséphine occupied the rooms of Marie-Antoinette below — just the reverse of the arrangement later under the Second Empire. The suite of the First Consul, which faced on the Gardens, was known in the time of Louis the Fourteenth as the "Winter Apartment of His Majesty." The cabinet, lighted by only one window, was of medium size. Next to this room was the *bureau topographique*, or map-room, and adjoining was a large bed-room, which had been that of the kings, where a *lit de parade* had been placed. Bourrienne tells us in his "Memoirs" that Bonaparte rarely slept there, for he had very simple tastes and was not fond of luxury. "Pour m'exprimer en termes bourgeois, au Luxembourg, à la Malmaison, et pendant les premiers temps qu'il habita les Tuileries, Bonaparte couchait avec sa femme." Every night he descended by a little stairway to the rooms of Joséphine who lived below him on the ground floor. She had furnished the suite of Marie-Antoinette very simply. Adjoining her cabinet de toilette was the apartment of Hortense, consisting of a bedroom and a study.

During the winter of 1800 Paris thought only of pleasure. The official world set the example, and the season was very brilliant. The finest balls were those given by Lucien Bonaparte, who as Minister of the Interior occupied the magnificent Hôtel Brissac. Besides the official fêtes, there were those of the great bankers of the day, which recalled the traditions of the former *fermiers généraux*. The persons belonging to the old aristocracy of the Faubourg Saint-Germain did not yet mingle in the new society, but they were seen at the theatres, the concerts, and at private

dinners. All classes of society entered into the social whirl, and the dance was never so popular. The reopening of the masked balls of the Opéra was the great feature of the Carnival of 1800. For a period of ten years the Parisians had been deprived of this entertainment so popular with them. Nothing else was talked of in the capital.

But while Paris danced and played, the First Consul was occupied with very serious problems. The military situation of France with regard to the three Powers with which she was still at war was such that there was but little chance of peace save through victory. As soon as he was in office Bonaparte had made pacific overtures to the Allies and had been so far successful that the Czar Paul had abandoned the Coalition. The English Government, which hoped soon to reduce the French garrisons in Malta and Egypt, refused to make peace, but it was not dangerous except on the sea. With Austria it was clear that the campaign must be fought to a finish.

At the time that Bonaparte became First Consul the affairs of France were in a deplorable state. The treasury was empty: the soldiers were ill-fed and ill-clad; civil war still raged in the Vendée; and the armies of the Republic were demoralized from frequent defeats.

During the winter of 1800 the energy and activity of Napoleon were everywhere in evidence. The finances were placed upon a firm basis; the soldiers were armed and equipped; the civil war was crushed out; and the spirit and patriotism of the soldiers were aroused by his proclamations.

At the same time he began to collect, drill and organize, in different parts of France, various bodies of men, who were later to unite near Lake Geneva and form the Army of Reserve.

In the spring of 1800 the military situation was as follows. The remnant of the French army under Masséna had been driven out of northern Italy by the superior

forces of Mélas and was in the vicinity of Genoa. An invasion of France was threatened along the line of the Riviera. All of Bonaparte's conquests had been lost.

In southern Germany, Kray with 150,000 men menaced the Rhine, while Moreau with an army nearly equal stood on the defensive at Bâle. The French had a great strategic advantage in their possession of Switzerland, which like a gigantic bastion projected between the two German armies. Bonaparte's first plan was to reinforce the army of Moreau, which, under his supervision, should cut the Austrian line of communications. This scheme was given up on account of the opposition of Moreau whom Bonaparte could not afford to offend.

At this moment came the news that Masséna had been driven into Genoa where he was being besieged by the superior forces of Mélas. Bonaparte immediately altered his plans and decided to move against the Austrian communications in Italy.

Before entering into a description of this campaign it is necessary to describe briefly the topography of the theatre of operations. Brilliant in its conception, perfect in its execution, the Campaign of Marengo is one of the most interesting of all of Napoleon's military operations, and well deserves a minute description.

Separating Switzerland from Italy is the lofty mountainous range known as the Swiss Alps. Extending south from western Switzerland to within about thirty miles of the sea, and forming the boundary line between France and Italy, are the French Alps. Turning east from this point and approaching the sea, the range is called the Maritime Alps, and still further east, along the shores of the Gulf of Genoa, is known as the Apennines.

With the exception of a few passes, this great mountain chain, almost encircling northern Italy, forms an insurmountable barrier to military operations. To-day magnificent highways cross the Alps, and they are pierced by several tunnels which bring Turin and Milan within a

few hours of France and Switzerland, but in the last year of the eighteenth century there was not even a wagon track for Napoleon. Snow and ice, glaciers and avalanches, made the mountain passes both difficult and dangerous for the passage of troops, and almost impassable for cavalry and artillery.

The Austrian army in northern Italy consisted of about 120,000 men under the command of General Mélas, an able officer, but too old for active service. The greater part of the army was near Genoa, and along the Apennines and the Maritime Alps. The remainder was scattered throughout Piedmont and Lombardy, occupying the fortresses and guarding the passes of the Alps. The army had its base on the Quadrilateral, and its line of communications was by several roads down the valley of the Po.

Opposed to the Austrians was the Army of Italy, less than 40,000 strong, under the command of Masséna, which was now shut up in Genoa.

Meanwhile the Army of Reserve, the very existence of which was doubted by the Austrians, was being rapidly assembled near Lake Geneva.

On the sixth of May, Bonaparte left Paris to take charge of the operations. An article in the new constitution prohibited the First Consul from exercising any military command, so Berthier, the chief of staff, was nominally the general-in-chief of the Army of Reserve.

Vast supplies had been collected at Geneva and every preparation made for the passage of the Alps. Bonaparte proceeded to Geneva and thence to Lausanne, at which places the greater part of the army was assembled. After receiving the reports of officers who had been sent to examine the several passes of the Alps, he decided to move the greater part of his forces over the pass of the Grand-Saint-Bernard. By taking this route, which was much the shortest, he could reach Milan quicker and gain the great advantage of time.

His plan was to lead 35,000 men into Italy by this pass, while two smaller detachments were to cross by the Petit-

Saint-Bernard and the Simplon. Thurreau's division of the Army of Italy, of about 4000 men, at the same time was to descend from the Mont-Cenis and attack the Austrians near Turin. Once in Italy, Bonaparte intended to march on Milan and await the corps of Moncey from the Army of the Rhine, which was to march by way of the Saint-Gothard.

From the eastern end of Lake Geneva the route to Italy passes through Martigny and the little hamlet of Saint-Pierre, crosses the Grand-Saint-Bernard at an elevation of 8000 feet, and then descends by the village of Saint-Remy into the valley of the Aosta and thence into the plain of Piedmont. A little to the south of the Grand- lies the Petit-Saint-Bernard, which also opens into the valley of the Aosta. The Saint-Gothard is at a considerable distance to the east, and leads more directly to Milan.

The supplies which had been collected were distributed at different points along the route, and four hospitals were established for the care of the sick and injured. The ammunition and gun-carriages were transported on the backs of mules, and the cannon were enclosed within the trunks of trees, hollowed out for that purpose, and dragged across the Alps by the soldiers themselves.

On the 15 May, the army began its march. There were about 35,000 men, including 4000 cavalry and forty cannon. The four corps were commanded by Murat, Victor, Duhesme and Lannes. A fifth corps of 5000 men under Chabran was to cross by the Petit-Saint-Bernard. Bonaparte sent Berthier forward to receive the divisions on their arrival at Saint-Remy, while he himself remained at Martigny to supervise the movement.

Lannes crossed first. He left Saint-Pierre at two o'clock in the morning, in order to avoid the danger of the avalanches, and reached Saint-Remy the same day. The entire army crossed in five days, and on the twentieth all five corps, including that of Chabran, had arrived safely in the valley of the Aosta. The soldiers were gay and cheerful and filled with enthusiasm. Never had their love and ad-

miration for the "Little Corporal" been so great. Like the great Hannibal they had crossed the Alps, and now in the fertile plains of Italy they not only hoped for, but felt confident of victory.

But a great difficulty was yet to be met. A short distance down the narrow valley, upon a perpendicular rock, stood the small but formidable Fort Bard. For a moment it seemed probable that this fort would stop the progress of the entire army. But the First Consul, who was still at Martigny, on receipt of the news, hurried across the Alps, and with his wonderful precision soon found a way of overcoming the obstacle. The men and horses were sent around the fort by foot-paths which were soon rendered passable, and on a dark night the soldiers hauled the guns past the fort.

The lower valley of the Aosta was defended by a few thousand Austrians, who were attacked by Lannes and driven back from position to position until they finally took refuge in Turin. On the 27 May, Bonaparte with the greater part of his army was at Chivasso, about four leagues northeast of the capital.

Still incredulous of the existence of the Army of Reserve, Mélas was at Alessandria with a few thousand troops, while the remainder of his army, now reduced to about 100,000 men, was scattered throughout northern Italy. The largest contingent, of about 30,000 men, was engaged in the siege of Genoa.

On the 21 May, Mélas received information of the passage of French troops over the Grand-Saint-Bernard. The following day he learned to a certainty that Bonaparte himself was in Italy with a large army, well equipped with cannon and cavalry. He was not only surprised but struck with consternation. His line of communications was already threatened, and he did not know which way to turn.

Hastily collecting 10,000 men, Mélas rushed to Turin, where he was joined by several other detachments, raising his total force to about 16,000 troops. He fully expected

to be at once attacked by the French, but such was not Bonaparte's plan. He ordered Lannes to march rapidly down the Po on Pavia, while he himself set out for Milan by way of Novara. After defeating a considerable force which attempted to oppose the passage of the Ticino, Bonaparte entered Milan on the second of June. Here he remained several days to await the arrival of Moncey's corps, which was crossing by the Saint-Gothard. In the meantime he sent Murat with the cavalry to seize the crossings of the Po at Placentia, where he had passed the river four years before during his first campaign in Italy, just prior to the battle of Lodi.

The French were now in possession of all of Piedmont and Lombardy north of the river Po, which they strongly held from Chivasso to Cremona. In this territory they had already seized all the Austrian communications and captured immense quantities of supplies and ammunition.

Mélas, who was no longer in doubt as to Bonaparte's intentions, now began to concentrate his forces to break through the net which was rapidly closing around him. He ordered all his available forces to march on Alessandria, and his army was materially increased by the surrender of Genoa on the fourth of June.

On the sixth of June, Moncey's corps of 15,000 men reached Milan and raised the forces under the immediate command of Napoleon to about 60,000 troops. He immediately issued orders for the three corps of Lannes, Victor and Murat, about 32,000 men, to cross the Po a few miles below Pavia and march to the Stradella Pass. During these movements an Austrian courier was captured, who bore a dispatch from Mélas telling of the capture of Genoa and of his plan of operations.

After occupying the Stradella Pass, Lannes and Victor received an order from Napoleon to march west towards Montebello and meet the Austrians coming from Genoa. On the ninth of June at this place Lannes with only 9000 men encountered 16,000 Austrians whom he decisively defeated after a stubborn contest which was finally de-

SCALE
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1
1½
2
Castello
Pietra Marazza
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To Sale
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ceriolo
Ott
Fontanone
Villanova
la Ghulina
MARENGO
Battle
li Poggi
la Buochetta
St Juliano
To Torlano
Spinetta
Position after the Battle
Hungarians
Cassina Grosse
Parodi
To Frugarolo
BATTLE
OF
MARENGO
14 June 1800.
SHEET 2
French
Austrians
Cavalry
Infantry
Artillery

cided by the arrival of Victor with 5000 men. This victory gave Lannes imperishable renown and won for him the title of Duc de Montebello.

The First Consul who had left Milan the same morning arrived on the field just at the end of the battle. Being deficient in cavalry and artillery, while Mélas was strong in both, he decided to fall back to a position in front of the Stradella Pass, where his flanks would be well protected, and await the Austrian attack. The following day, Desaix arrived on his return from Egypt, and was given the command of a corps.

After waiting two days for the Austrians to advance and attack him, Napoleon could bear the suspense no longer and accordingly decided to advance and seek Mélas. Leaving a force to occupy the fortified camp at Stradella, he marched towards Alessandria. On the 13 June he crossed the Scrivia and debouched into the plain of Marengo.

An observer standing one hundred and twenty years ago on any one of the moderate hillocks near San Giuliano looking west would see before him an almost flat plain extending to the river Bormida. This plain was covered with meadows, vineyards and olive orchards, and was not cut up, as is usually the case in Italy, by canals and ditches. It was an admirable field for cavalry evolutions. About halfway to the Bormida the observer would see the little village of Marengo, past which ran a meandering brook, bordered by marshes, with high banks here and there. Just beyond ran the Bormida, which here pursues an irregular course, with extensive loops. At a distance of six or seven miles, in the background, could be seen, through the trees which bordered the river, the walls and towers of Alessandria. Across the plain ran several country roads connecting the villages and farms. Such was the famous battle-field of Marengo, which even to-day is little changed.

During the afternoon of the thirteenth Bonaparte ordered Victor to proceed to Marengo. Here only a small

detachment of the Austrians was found, which was quickly driven across the Bormida. From all these indications Napoleon came to the conclusion that the Austrians had abandoned Alessandria and were attempting to escape by another route. He therefore directed Desaix, with one division of his corps, about six thousand men, to march on Novi a short distance south of Marengo in order to intercept Mélas if he was endeavoring to escape by this route.

It thus happened that on the evening of the 13 June Napoleon was unprepared for the battle of the following day. Contrary to all his principles he had scattered his forces in the face of the enemy. He nearly paid dearly for this error. Meanwhile at Alessandria all was in confusion. The Austrian communications were severed and Mélas did not know what course to pursue. He therefore called a council of war at which three plans of action were suggested: first, to cross the Po at Valenza and march on Pavia; second, to retire to Genoa and prepare to stand a siege there supported by the British fleet; third, to cross the Bormida and attack the French in the endeavor to cut their way through.

The third plan was adopted. It was decided to cross the river the next morning and attack the French. The army of Mélas numbered 32,000 men including 7000 cavalry, and he had two hundred cannon.

At daybreak on the morning of the fourteenth, the Austrians began to cross the river. They at once attacked and drove back the French outposts and advanced towards Marengo. Victor, who had arrived at Marengo the night before, received the attack of the Austrians and at first succeeded in driving them back. At about ten o'clock Lannes arrived on the field with his corps. The French line of battle now numbered about 15,000 men, or less than one half the Austrian troops.

At ten o'clock Mélas attacked the whole French line and made a determined effort to gain possession of Marengo. Both sides fought desperately — the Austrians

with the energy of despair. All the efforts of the French were unavailing to resist the furious attacks of superior numbers, and both Victor and Lannes were forced to give way. They retired in disorder towards San Giuliano followed by the victorious Austrians.

Such was the critical state of affairs when Napoleon arrived on the field at eleven o'clock. He had already sent orders to Desaix to return and had then hurried to the front with all the troops he could collect. He brought with him the Consular Guard, the division of Monnier, and two regiments of cavalry, making in all about seven thousand men. The struggle was renewed with increased fury, but all the efforts of Napoleon could not now turn the tide of battle in favor of the French. It was not possible to hold out any longer, and he ordered a retreat. The French, almost demoralized, retired behind the hillocks of San Giuliano. They had been driven three miles beyond Marengo; the greater part of their cavalry had been destroyed; and more than two-thirds of their cannon had been captured.

Mélas returned to Alessandria and sent a dispatch to Vienna announcing his victory. During the day he had shown great energy and courage, but he now felt the effects of his exertions, and the weight of his seventy years bore heavily upon him. He left the army in command of his chief of staff, General Zach.

Zach now rearranged his troops for the purpose of pursuing the French, whom he believed to be completely routed. At about four o'clock the Austrian advance began, the troops moving forward in marching order rather than in line of battle.

Meanwhile Napoleon had begun to rally and arrange his troops behind the hillocks near San Giuliano. At about five o'clock Desaix arrived. At the sound of the first cannon-shot at Marengo he had halted his division and turned back.

Napoleon at once formed Desaix's division and the French troops about San Giuliano into line of battle.

When the advance column of Zach appeared from behind the rising ground in front of the French lines, they were surprised to find the whole French army in position for battle. The French at once attacked with fury and everywhere overwhelmed the Austrians. Two thousand men were captured, including General Zach himself. Continuing the advance, the French forced the Austrians back to Marengo. Here they attempted to make a stand but were again defeated and retired in disorder across the Bormida to Alessandria. By ten o'clock that night all the Austrians had recrossed the river. Napoleon had won in the afternoon the battle that he had lost in the morning: a great disaster was turned into a great victory.

On the following morning when the French were preparing to cross the Bormida in order to attack the Austrians in Alessandria, Mélas sent an officer to the French headquarters to propose terms of surrender. That same day the negotiations were completed and an armistice was signed. By the terms of surrender Mélas was allowed to evacuate Alessandria with the honors of war and to proceed to Mantua. In return he agreed to give up the whole of northern Italy as far as the Quadrilateral and to surrender all the fortresses and the fortified cities.

In proportion to the numbers engaged, both the French and Austrian losses were very heavy. Desaix was killed at the beginning of the battle of the afternoon and his death was deeply regretted by the First Consul and the French nation. At Saint Helena, Napoleon spoke of him as follows:

"Of all the generals I ever had under me, Desaix and Kléber possessed the greatest talents — especially Desaix. Kléber loved glory only in as far as it was the means of procuring him riches and pleasures, whereas Desaix loved glory for itself, and despised everything else. To him riches and pleasure were valueless, nor did he give them a moment's thought. He was a little, black-looking man, about an inch shorter than I am, always badly dressed, sometimes even ragged, and despising comfort or

convenience. When in Egypt, I made him a present of a complete field-equipage several times, but he always lost it. Wrapt in a cloak, Desaix threw himself under a gun, and slept as contentedly as if he were in a palace. For him luxury had no charms."

Napoleon had begun the passage of the Grand-Saint-Bernard on the 15 May and just a month later he received the surrender of the Austrian army in Italy. In one month he had crossed the Alps, entered Milan, severed the Austrian communications, fought and won a great battle and as a result obtained possession of the greater part of northern Italy.

Referring to this period of Napoleon's career, Alison, who certainly cannot be accused of any prejudice in his favor, writes as follows:

"The sudden resurrection of France when Napoleon assumed the helm, is one of the most extraordinary passages of European history. . . . When he seized the helm in November, 1799, he found the armies defeated and ruined; the frontier invaded both on the sides of Italy and Germany; the arsenals empty; the soldiers in despair, deserting their colours; the Royalists revolting against the government; general anarchy in the interior; the treasury empty; the energies of the Republic apparently exhausted. Instantly, as if by enchantment, everything was changed; order reappeared out of chaos, talent emerged from obscurity, vigour arose out of the elements of weakness. The arsenals were filled, the veterans crowded to their eagles, the conscripts joyfully repaired to the frontier, La Vendée was pacified, the exchequer began to overflow. In little more than six months after Napoleon's accession, the Austrians were forced to seek refuge under the cannon of Ulm, Italy was regained, unanimity and enthusiasm prevailed among the people, and the revived energy of the nation was launched into a career of conquest."

In his admirable monograph on "The Campaign of Marengo," Sargent says:

"At this time Bonaparte was thirty years of age; he was vigorous in mind and body. He was ambitious, and had a massive determination to succeed. He had a will which no obstacle could daunt. With a marvellous intuition he was able at times to foresee just what course his adversaries would take. So accurate was his information, so profound his knowledge of military matters, that he was often able to predict what, under certain conditions, would happen. In short, he was a consummate master of war. The fact that he was a great organizer, a great tactician, and a great strategist, is the real reason why he was so successful in war. Among all other great soldiers of the world, it would be difficult to select a single one who possessed in so marked a degree all these qualities. As an organizer, he was not excelled by either Cæsar or Alexander; as a tactician he was equal to Marlborough or Frederick; as a strategist, he surpassed every soldier of ancient or of modern times. Take him all in all he was, perhaps, the foremost soldier of the world."

CHAPTER TEN

1799–1804

THE CONSULATE

Victory of Hohenlinden — Treaty of Lunéville — Peace of Amiens — The Consular Government — The Concordat — The Code Napoléon — Royalist Plots — The Infernal Machine — Execution of the Duc d'Enghien — The Consulate for Life — The Ovation to Bonaparte after Marengo — The National Holidays — Malmaison — Hortense de Beauharnais — Her Marriage with Louis Bonaparte — Birth of Napoleon Charles — A Calumny Refuted by Bourrienne — The Reconstruction of Paris — The Consular Court — Napoleon's Simplicity — A Sketch by an Englishman — Plan to Restore the French Colonial Empire — The Hostility of England — The War Renewed — Battle of Trafalgar

SIX months after the victory of Marengo, on the third of December 1800, Moreau decisively defeated the Austrians at Hohenlinden, thus opening the road to Vienna. Austria was obliged to sue for peace, and the Treaty of Lunéville, which was in the main a repetition of that of Campo Formio, was signed on the ninth of February, 1801.

France was now at peace with all the nations on the Continent, and only England kept up the war. She had just compelled the French to evacuate Egypt, and during the eight years that the two nations had been at war she had conquered many of the colonies of France, as well as of her allies, Spain and Holland. But the English people had begun to feel the burden of their enormous war debt, and a change of ministers occurred. William Pitt, the great war-leader, resigned and was succeeded by Addington, who opened negotiations for peace. After a discussion of five months, the Peace of Amiens was signed 27 March 1802. The terms were very advantageous to France. England recognized the Republic and restored all of the French colonies and some of the Dutch and Spanish, retaining only Ceylon and Trinidad. She also agreed to

evacuate Egypt and Malta. Although nothing was said about the Rhine and Belgium, she virtually recognized the new boundaries of France, which far exceeded those of the ancient monarchy.

The peace, which unfortunately was destined to last only a year, was very popular in both countries, and was received with enthusiasm everywhere.

In August the Consulate for ten years was changed into a Consulate for life, and Bonaparte was given the power to name his successor.

Under the Consulate, one of the principal ideas of the Revolution was preserved by Bonaparte, that of Equality. Privilege, abolished in 1789, was never to return. All French citizens were equal under the law, paying the same taxes, enjoying equal chances in life. The Bourbons were to return fifteen years later, but the *ancien régime* was abolished forever. Feudal duties were never restored, and every French citizen continued to have an equal opportunity for employment both in the civil and in the military service.

But Bonaparte did not believe in the other leading idea of the Revolution, that of Liberty. He did not think the French people either desired it or were prepared for it. According to the exposition of his ideas, as set forth by his nephew at a later date, it was the intention of Napoleon finally to "crown the edifice" with the cap of liberty, but he was prevented from so doing by the continual wars waged against him by the despots of Europe and by his final overthrow at Waterloo. But whatever our views may be as to the correctness of these ideas, the fact remains that under Napoleon there was no liberty of any kind in France. His career was one long denial or negation of it.

The activities of Bonaparte as First Consul were unremitting and far-reaching, and the work which he did at that time has remained, while his conquests have passed away.

One of his first acts was to make peace with the Church,

following the wise advice of the old Abbé de Saint-Ruff. He perceived that one of the strongest elements of strength of the Monarchy was its close alliance with the Papacy. The mass of the French people, during all the stress and storm of the Revolution, had still remained faithful to their religion.

Immediately on his return from Marengo, Bonaparte made overtures to the Pope which resulted in the famous treaty or Concordat, which remained in force during the whole nineteenth century and was only abolished in 1905 under the Third Republic. In doing this he was not actuated so much by religious feeling as by a shrewd political sentiment. It was one of his wisest acts. The Army, which was anti-clerical, was bitter in its opposition, but this did not move Bonaparte from his purpose. He knew the control which the parish priests exercised over their flocks and he meant to have them on his side. If his nephew and heir had been as wise in his day and generation, his descendants might still be occupying the Imperial throne of France.

Under the Concordat the Catholic religion was recognized by the Republic. The bishops were to be appointed by the First Consul, and they in turn were to appoint the priests, with the consent of the Government. Their salaries in both cases were to be paid by the State, so in fact they became government officials. The Concordat was very popular with the people, and its effects were far-reaching. The Clergy for the most part abandoned royalism and became firm supporters of the new régime. Although Napoleon afterwards came to consider the Concordat as a mistake, its immediate advantages were undeniable.

The chief monument to the memory of Bonaparte, however, is the "Code Napoléon." At Saint Helena he said: "My real glory is not my having won forty battles. What will never be effaced, what will endure forever, is my Civil Code." In this opinion he was not mistaken, for the code has proved more enduring than his conquests.

This famous code was an orderly, systematic, compact statement of the laws of France. Before the Revolution, France had been governed by an old and complex system of medieval laws of different historical origins. With the Revolution had come a flood of new legislation which had further complicated the situation. Bonaparte now devoted his marvellous energies to bringing order out of this chaos, and in a comparatively brief time the lawyers and the Council of State, to whom the task had been submitted, had finished the work. The underlying principle of the code was that of civil equality, established by the Revolution. The code was later adopted by Italy, Belgium, and the German states along the Rhine, and is still the fundamental law of France, while its influence is strongly felt in such distant parts of the globe as Java, South Africa and Louisiana.

Bonaparte presided over many of the sessions of the Council of State, which framed the code, and his direct share in the work was very considerable. It is stated that "he was never inferior to any member of the Council, and that he equalled the ablest of them by the ease with which he seized the point of a question, by the justness of his ideas and the force of his reasoning; he often surprised them by the turn of his phrases and the originality of his expression." He was considered by the lawyers a new Justinian, as he was called by the clergy a new Constantine for having arranged the Concordat. As a matter of fact he was greater than either of them.

Nor did these notable achievements absorb all the energies of this remarkable man. He organized the Bank of France and he created the Legion of Honor, both of which institutions still exist. He reorganized the system of national education. He built and improved roads, ordered canals cut and ports dredged. Under his intelligent rule, commerce and industry received a new impetus.

At the beginning of the Consulate many of the Royalists had hoped that Bonaparte would play the rôle of General Monk and restore the exiled dynasty, but he had

no idea of assuming this part. When this became apparent many plots were made against his life. On one occasion, shortly after his return from Marengo, he had a very narrow escape from death by an infernal machine.

The conspirators knew that the First Consul expected to be present at the Opéra on Christmas eve to hear a new oratorio by Haydn. They also knew that the route usually taken by his carriage was by the Rue Saint-Nicaise, which is no longer in existence. It was a long narrow street running from the Carrousel to the Rue Saint-Honoré, where it ended near the Rue Richelieu in which the Opéra was then situated. This narrow street was chosen for the attempt. An infernal machine was installed in a one-horse cart, which was placed opposite a house before which the First Consul was to pass, and the time which it would take him to come from the Tuileries was carefully calculated so that the machine would explode at the right moment.

Haydn was then the most popular composer and every one was talking of his new oratorio, "The Creation." The ladies of the Tuileries, Joséphine, Hortense and Caroline, wished to be present. But Napoleon was not at all eager to go. Fatigued from a hard day's work, he had fallen asleep on a sofa. With some difficulty he is awakened and persuaded to start. He enters the first carriage with Lannes, Bessières and the aide de camp of Lebrun. He is followed by an escort of mounted grenadiers. Joséphine leaves a few minutes later, having been detained by an insignificant detail of her toilette. She is accompanied by her daughter and sister-in-law and Colonel Rapp.

The three ladies and Rapp descend the stairway of the Pavillon de Flore and enter their carriage. They traverse the Carrousel and take the Rue Saint-Nicaise in which the equipage of the First Consul has already disappeared. Suddenly a terrible detonation is heard.

When the explosion occurred Bonaparte was dozing. Lannes and Bessières wished to stop, but the First Consul cried, "A l'Opéra!" A moment later the carriage was at

the door, and Bonaparte entered the *loge* with his usual calm face.

The windows of Joséphine's carriage had been broken by the explosion and Hortense slightly cut on the arm by a piece of glass. Rapp descended to go and see if the First Consul had been injured and the carriage continued its way by another street. When the three ladies entered the box, Bonaparte welcomed them with a smile and then tranquilly asked for the program of the oratorio.

Soon the news of the attempt spread through the hall. Fifteen people had been killed and many more wounded. The First Consul had escaped as by a miracle. The oratorio was interrupted while the audience arose and applauded him frantically. A few minutes later he left the theatre and returned to the Tuileries, where he received the reports of the police and the congratulations of his ministers. The public joy over his escape was universal.

The attempt on the life of the First Consul was a double shock to Joséphine as it revived at once the talk about the necessity, for the safety of the State, of an heir to the First Consul, and this for Joséphine meant what she feared the most: divorce.

The Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles the Tenth, was involved in another plot which was even more serious. His agents were the former Chouan, Georges Cadoudal, and the Republican General Pichegru, the former instructor of Napoleon at Brienne. They were both arrested in Paris; the former was shot, and the latter was found strangled in prison.

The First Consul now determined to make an example of the House of Bourbon which would not soon be forgotten. The young Duc d'Enghien, the last descendant of the great House of Condé, who was living in Germany not far from the Rhine, was arrested and conducted to Vincennes. The night of his arrival, 20 March 1804, he was tried by a military court, found guilty of having borne arms against France, and sentenced to be shot. At an early hour on the following morning he was executed in

the courtyard of the château. There was naturally a howl of indignation from the Royalists everywhere. It was perfectly legitimate for them to attempt the life of the Corsican usurper, but he must not shed a drop of the blue blood of the Bourbons! But the object of Bonaparte was achieved· there were no more Royalist plots against his life.

When Bonaparte traversed France on his return from Marengo, he received a perfect ovation at every stage of his journey. At Dijon he was welcomed by a delegation of young girls crowned with flowers. At Sens he passed under a triumphal arch inscribed with the historic words: *Veni, Vidi, Vici.* When he entered Paris the night of the second of July, the enthusiasm was indescribable. The next morning an innumerable crowd filled the Gardens of the Tuileries. In the evening the whole city was illuminated: every window was lighted up. Twenty years later, on the rock of Saint Helena, Napoleon spoke of this as one of the happiest days of his life.

He was delighted to be with Joséphine again. There was not then any cloud between them, and their life was a model of reciprocal affection. He felt that his wife was his good genius. He said to Bourrienne: "The noise of these acclamations is as sweet to me as the sound of the voice of Joséphine." It was the expression of La Bruyère, "L'harmonie la plus douce est le son de voix de la femme qu'on aime."

Twelve days after his return was celebrated the national fête of the 14 July, anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. The Consular Guard, which left Milan the 22 June, had been ordered to be present on this occasion, and it was exact for the rendez-vous. At ten o'clock in the morning, it entered the court of the Tuileries, bearing the Austrian flags taken at Marengo. The Guard then proceeded to the Invalides, where an address was made by Lucien Bonaparte, Minister of the Interior. After this there was a grand review on the Champ-de-Mars, where the flags

were formally presented to the Consuls. At this moment the crowd went wild with joy, and broke through the lines of the troops in an irresistible flood. Every one cried: "Vive la République! Vive Bonaparte!"

On the 21 September, anniversary of the founding of the Republic, the remains of Turenne were borne to their final resting-place under the dome of the Church of the Invalides. Here Carnot, the Minister of War, made an oration, in which he exalted the great general of Louis the Fourteenth. In the evening Bonaparte and his wife were present at a gala performance at the Théâtre Français.

The same day the First Consul laid the first stone of a monument to be erected in the Place de la Victoire in memory of Desaix and Kléber. This square, before the Revolution, contained a gilded statue of Louis Quatorze, whose name it bore. After the Second Restoration, the statue of Desaix was removed, and in 1822 replaced by an equestrian statue of the "Roi Soleil."

After the fête of the 14 July, Bonaparte and his wife left the Tuileries to go to Malmaison, which Joséphine had purchased two years before during Napoleon's absence in Egypt. The château is delightfully situated on the left bank of the Seine very near the village of Rueil about ten miles from Paris. It was at that time the favorite residence of Bonaparte, and during the summer after his return from Italy he passed several days there every week. At Malmaison the great man showed himself amiable and familiar. He laid aside his dignity and took part in the games and pastimes of the château. During the summer of 1801 and the spring season of 1802, Malmaison continued to be his favorite residence. After that its place was taken by the Château of Saint-Cloud.

Of the six dwelling places of Napoleon at Paris after he arrived at fame three have since disappeared — the villa in the Rue de la Victoire, the Tuileries and Saint-Cloud; the three that remain are the Luxembourg, where he lived for three months as First Consul, the Elysée, where he resided for a few weeks during the Hundred

Days, and Malmaison, which, after many changes of hands, in 1900 was purchased by a Jewish banker, Daniel Osiris, and presented to the State. It has since been restored and refurnished in the style of the First Empire and is now a museum of souvenirs of Napoleon and Joséphine.

Among the young girls of the Consular Court, the most popular was Hortense de Beauharnais, the daughter of Joséphine. She was not particularly pretty, but was very attractive with her blond hair and soft violet eyes. She had been educated at the fashionable school of Mme. Campan at Saint-Germain. Here she had as companions: Caroline Bonaparte, the future Queen of Naples; Stéphanie de Beauharnais, the future Grand Duchess of Baden; Elisa Monroe, daughter of the United States Minister to France, who was later president of the American republic, and many other young ladies of the best Parisian families, including the future wife of Marshal Davout; of Duroc, the favorite aide de camp of the Emperor, and of Marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave."

At one time Hortense showed a decided preference for Duroc, but her mother was strongly opposed to a marriage which she considered a mésalliance. Tormented by the phantom of divorce, Joséphine had set her heart on the marriage of her daughter to Louis Bonaparte. In this way she thought she could reconcile the Bonapartes and the Beauharnais. She could not have any children by Napoleon, but her grand-child and the nephew of Napoleon might one day occupy the throne of France, which indeed happened.

Madame Campan seconded the wishes of Joséphine and used all of her influence with Hortense to persuade her to look with favor on Louis. Finally at a ball at Malmaison in the autumn of 1801 the marriage was arranged.

The civil marriage took place at the Tuileries the third of January 1802 in the presence of the Bonaparte and Beauharnais families. The following day the religious ceremony was performed in the little hôtel in the Rue de

la Victoire, where the young couple began their married life.

The nuptial benediction was pronounced by Cardinal Caprara, who was then negotiating the Concordat with the French Government. At the same time General Murat and Caroline Bonaparte, who had only been united by a civil bond, had their marriage blessed by the Church. Joséphine also wished to have the same privilege, but Napoleon absolutely refused, either from reasons of public policy or in order to keep the way open for a divorce if in the future he desired one.

The shabbily furnished little villa in the Rue de la Victoire, after being occupied for a short time by Louis and Hortense, was loaned by Napoleon from time to time to some favorite general. It was not finally torn down until 1860. The site is now covered by the houses Nos. 58 and 60, and the courtyard in which the resplendent officers gathered on the morning of the 18 Brumaire is now divided between the courts of these two houses.

The street in those days was almost a country road, bordered by small villas. Two of these besides the hôtel of Joséphine were to be associated with the name of Napoleon. In one, Mlle. Eléonore Dénuelle gave birth the 13 December 1806 to a boy who bore a striking resemblance to the Emperor and who was named Léon. He lived through four Governments of France and died the 15 April 1881 under the Third Republic. In another modest dwelling in the same street lived the loving and devoted Madame Walewska, whose son by the Emperor was the gifted soldier, diplomat and writer who was a brilliant figure under the Second Empire. He also bore a striking resemblance to the Emperor.

At Paris, on the 10 October 1802, was born the first child of Hortense, Napoleon Charles, who was to die at The Hague in his fifth year. Because of his strong family resemblance to Napoleon, and the interest which he always showed in the boy, the calumny was spread at

a later date that he was really the child of the Emperor. Bourrienne, who certainly cannot be accused of any great good-will towards Napoleon, denies this accusation in the strongest terms. In his "Memoirs" he says: "I am happy to be able to give the most formal and positive denial to the infamous supposition that Bonaparte ever had for Hortense any other feelings than those of a step-father for a step-daughter. Authors without belief have attested without proofs not only the criminal liaison which they have imagined, but they have even gone so far as to say that Bonaparte was the father of the eldest son of Hortense. It is a lie, an infamous lie!"

During the Consulate was begun the work of beautifying Paris, which was continued under the Empire and completed under Napoleon the Third. The abolition during the Revolution of the many religious institutions of old Paris had made possible great works of reconstruction.

Up to the end of the Revolution, the magnificent Place Vendôme, so familiar to all visitors to Paris, was connected with the Gardens of the Tuileries by the narrow Passage des Feuillants. On the north side of those gardens, facing the Manège, was the much frequented Terrasse, where now stands the Hôtel Continental. The Manège had been built for the equestrian training of Louis the Fifteenth when a boy, and was converted into a place of meeting for the Assembly after its removal from Versailles to Paris. This narrow passage was enlarged under the Consulate to the present Rue de Castiglione, which connects the Rue Saint-Honoré with the fine Rue de Rivoli, which was begun at the same time, but was not cut through to the Place de la Bastille until the reign of Napoleon the Third.

The Place Vendôme, begun under Louis Quatorze, and first called Place Louis le Grand, was later named for the Duc de Vendôme, the son of Henri Quatre by Gabrielle d'Estrées, whose hôtel once occupied this site. The Column was erected under the Empire, in imitation of that of Trajan at Rome. On the top was originally placed

a statue of the Emperor in a Roman toga, which was removed at the time of the Restoration. A second statue, in the familiar hat and great-coat, which is now in the Invalides, was erected by Louis Philippe. Under the Second Empire, this was in turn replaced by a replica of the first statue.

From the Place Vendôme the handsome Rue de la Paix, originally called Rue Napoléon, was constructed north to the Boulevards upon the site of the Jardins of the convent of the Capucines.

The Church of the Madeleine, begun under Louis the Fifteenth and unfinished at the time of the Revolution, was ordered completed as a "Temple de la Gloire" in honor of the Army. But the building, which was not finished until the reign of Louis Philippe, was given back after the Restoration to its original destination.

The renovation of the Louvre was ordered, and this museum became the treasure-house of painting and sculpture, enriched by works of art taken from many Italian cities. Orders were also given for the construction of vast galleries which were to connect the old Louvre with the Pavillon de Marsan and form a splendid façade on the new Rue de Rivoli. This work, arrested by the downfall of the Empire, and completed by the great man's nephew, is an enduring monument to the memory of the two Napoleons.

Other works, which combined beauty with utility, were the prolongation of the quays along the left bank of the Seine, the construction of three new bridges, the improvement of the Jardin des Plantes, and the laying out of many parks and open spaces. At a later date the victories of the Empire were commemorated in the erection of the Arc de Triomphe.

Some of these works were not carried out until the time of the Empire, but they represent the designs of the First Consul, and may therefore be mentioned here.

On the 15 August 1802 a splendid fête was given at Paris to celebrate the proclamation of Bonaparte as First

Consul for Life. That day, the festival of the Assumption, was also memorable as being Napoleon's thirty-third birthday, and as the anniversary of the Concordat.

The First Consul now began to sign his name Napoleon, like monarchs, and little by little to surround himself with regal state. Saint-Cloud took the place of Malmaison as a residence during the summer season, and at this Château and at the Tuileries the pomp of the *ancien régime* was copied. Duroc was appointed Governor of the Palace and regular Court etiquette was instituted. Republican simplicity in dress gave place to sumptuous uniforms and gorgeous liveries which recalled the days of the Monarchy.

The First Consul, however, still clung to his simple habits, and generally wore the uniform of a colonel of the Chasseurs de la Garde, which was also his usual costume when Emperor. He always retained his early dislike of luxury and display, and court ceremonial was ever irksome to him. He adopted it as a matter of policy rather than from personal inclination.

A very interesting account of Napoleon's appearance at this time is given by John Leslie Foster, who visited Paris shortly after the Peace of Amiens:

"He is about five feet seven inches high, delicately and gracefully made; his hair, a dark brown, thin and lank; his complexion, smooth, pale, and sallow; his eyes, gray, but very animated; all his features, particularly his mouth and nose, fine, sharp, defined, and expressive beyond description. The true expression of his countenance is a pleasing melancholy, which, whenever he speaks, relaxes into the most agreeable and gracious smile you can conceive. To this you must add the appearance of deep and intense thought, but above all the predominating expression, a look of calm and tranquil resolution and intrepidity which nothing human could discompose. He has more unaffected dignity than I could conceive in man. He speaks deliberately, but very fluently, with particular emphasis, and in a rather low tone of voice. While he speaks, his features are still more expressive than his words."

In the interesting but unreliable "Memoirs" of Madame de Rémusat we catch a glimpse of the life of this parvenu Court, attempting to imitate the manners of the *ancien régime*. Napoleon's reason for enduring this mummery is frankly given in his statement: "It is fortunate that the French are to be ruled through their vanity."

"There are abundant reasons for thinking," says Rose, "that Napoleon valued the Peace of Amiens as a necessary preliminary to the restoration of the French Colonial Empire." He had never really relinquished his designs on Egypt, and still set a high value on the valley of the Nile and the Isthmus of Suez. Even at Saint Helena he said emphatically, "Egypt is the most important country in the world."

The French possessions beyond the seas had never shrunk to a smaller area than during the last year of the war with England. It was therefore a source of great satisfaction to Napoleon to recover possession of the large and fertile island of Saint-Domingue, or Hayti, which in the early years of the last century loomed far more important than at the present day. Under the Monarchy the trade of the French portion of this island represented more than half of the ocean commerce of France. During the Revolution there had been a terrible servile revolt under the leadership of Toussaint Louverture, a man of great sagacity and force of character, who had conquered and ruled the entire island. As soon as peace was signed, Napoleon sent his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, to govern the island as captain-general. The expeditionary force consisted of over sixty battle-ships with 20,000 troops on board. The forces of the black dictator were overwhelmed and he himself was sent to die as a prisoner in France. Many of the French soldiers, including General Leclerc himself, succumbed to the unhealthy climate.

The history of the former extensive French possessions in North America could hardly be recalled by ardent patriots without a pang of remorse. At the beginning of

the Seven Years' War, France was master of Canada and Louisiana, which were connected by a line of interior military posts, while the English were confined to a strip of territory along the Atlantic coast. The Pompadour, who was the virtual ruler of France, joined the alliance of Austria and Russia against Prussia and England. The mistress of Louis the Fifteenth could not be persuaded to send succor to the brave Montcalm, and the capture of Quebec by Wolfe's army in 1759 virtually marked the end of French control on the American continent, although Canada was not formally ceded to England until the Peace of Paris in 1763 at the conclusion of the war. The same year Louisiana was transferred by England to Spain, in return for other concessions made by the Court of Madrid.

Many efforts were made by France to regain her former Mississippi province, but all in vain until July 1800 when Spain agreed to transfer Louisiana to France in return for the cession of Tuscany to the heir of the Duke of Parma. This young man had married the daughter of Charles the Fourth of Spain, and for his benefit the contemptible King was ready, nay eager, to barter away the half of a continent. On one pretext or another, however, the actual transfer was delayed over a period of two years. The opposition of the United States to having the mouth of their greatest river in foreign hands was very strong, and President Jefferson sent Monroe to Paris to purchase the French claims. For many reasons Napoleon was willing to agree to the bargain, and for the paltry sum of sixty million francs the United States gained a peaceful title to Louisiana and the vast tracts west of the Mississippi. But it proved after all an excellent bargain for France, as it prevented the territory from falling into the hands of England when hostilities began again within a few months.

An attempt at this same time to revivify French influences in India was also thwarted by the breaking of the peace. In no other way was Napoleon's statesmanship revealed more clearly than in his whole attitude towards European and colonial politics, which were so strongly to

affect the fortunes of the nations during the latter part of the nineteenth century. His grand schemes failed because of the relentless hostility of England, and not because, as stated by Rose, "they were too vast fitly to consort with an ambitious European policy," when, in the words of Talleyrand, "he (Napoleon) began to sow the seeds of new wars which, after overwhelming Europe and France, were to lead him to his ruin." It was the English aristocracy which, in its determination to crush Napoleon, formed coalition after coalition against him because he was justly regarded as the foe of *special privilege*. For the accomplishment of this end, during a period of nearly a quarter of a century, Europe was deluged in blood; and then after his fall English writers endeavored to prove that Napoleon was a tyrant who threatened the liberties of the world! Even a historian as generally fair as Rose is not able to entirely overcome this old insular prejudice.

As has already been stated, the peace between France and England was not of long duration. The agreement to evacuate Malta had not been carried out by the English Government, whose apprehension had been aroused by the colonial projects of the First Consul. In fact the peace between the two nations was little more than a truce. After much diplomatic discussion, Great Britain broke off negotiations, on the question of Malta, and withdrew her ambassador from Paris the 12 May 1803.

In five years the situation of France with regard to England had materially changed. In 1798 Bonaparte had advised the Directory against an attempt to cross the Channel. Now the resources of France were vastly increased, and in 1803 he decided to undertake the invasion of England.

He began preparations with his usual thoroughness. Every port on the Channel was improved and fortified. From Antwerp to Dieppe camps were formed in which troops began to assemble. Hundreds of gunboats and light cruisers were collected.

But it was as useless now as five years before to attempt

a crossing while the British fleet held command of the seas. Napoleon therefore planned a gigantic naval campaign to give him control of the Channel.

There were two principal French fleets, one of which was at Brest, where it was closely blockaded by Lord Cornwallis, while the other was at Toulon, watched by Lord Nelson. Under instructions from Napoleon, in the spring of 1805, the Toulon fleet stole out, sailed through the Strait of Gibraltar and made for the West Indies, with Nelson in hot pursuit. It then turned back, and, again evading Nelson, sailed for Ferrol, a port in the north-western part of Spain, where it was to free a small squadron, which was blockaded there, and then proceed to Brest. So far Napoleon's scheme had worked perfectly, and he hoped with the combined fleets to overpower Cornwallis and control the Channel. But his plans were ruined by the incompetency of the French admiral, Villeneuve, who, after an indecisive action with an inferior English fleet off Ferrol, on the 22 July, sailed for Cadiz instead of Brest. Napoleon was furious and threatened to remove Villeneuve. In order to forestall this action, on the 21 October, the French admiral came out of Cadiz and met the English off Cape Trafalgar. The Franco-Spanish fleet was defeated and almost entirely destroyed by the superior skill of Nelson, but the greatest of English admirals paid for the victory with his life.

In the meantime, however, other events had put a stop to Napoleon's plan for an invasion of England, and the Campaign of Austerlitz had begun.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

1804

THE EMPIRE

Reasons for the Establishment of Hereditary Rule — The Empire Decreed — The Dignitaries of State — The Plébiscite — The Marshals of France — Napoleon's Intellectual Gifts — His Power of Work — His Place in History — Fate of the Republican Generals — Exile of Moreau — The National Fête — Difficulties of Napoleon's Rôle — The Visit to Aix-la-Chapelle — The Talisman of Charlemagne — Coronation of the Emperor — The Fête Given by the Marshals — Religious Marriage of Napoleon and Joséphine — Baptism of Napoleon Louis — The Trip to Italy — Jérôme Abandons His Wife — The Iron Crown of Italy — Eugène Appointed Viceroy — The Return to France

AFTER the execution of the Duc d'Enghien the First Consul expressed to Joseph his intention of founding a Napoleonic dynasty. "I always intended," he said, "to end the Revolution by the establishment of heredity; but I thought such a step could not be taken before the lapse of five or six years." But events had moved faster than he expected. The Jacobins had looked upon the pomp and parade of the consulate court as a prelude to the return of the Bourbons, with the First Consul in the rôle of Monk. They therefore hailed with joy the execution of Enghien. Henceforth it would be war to the knife between Bonaparte and the Bourbons. A few days after the execution Fouché appealed to the Senate to establish hereditary power in the person of Napoleon as the surest means of preserving the benefits of the Revolution. He argued that this would put an end to the royalists' plots, for even if they struck down the man they could not end the system. So as events turned out the Royalists thwarted their own purposes, and insured the establishment of the Empire.

Appeals, more or less spontaneous, now began to pour in from all parts of France for the adoption of the principle of hereditary rule. There is no doubt as to the fact that Napoleon both as a warrior and as a statesman had established a valid claim to the nation's gratitude. After hearing Fouché's adroit speech, the Senate voted almost unanimously in favor of hereditary rule. In the Tribunate only one member, Carnot, voted against the proposition.

On the 18 May 1804 a *Senatus Consultum* formally decreed to Napoleon Bonaparte the title of Emperor of the French. A committee of the Senate waited upon Napoleon at the Château of Saint-Cloud to notify him, and the following day he came to the Tuileries where he held a large reception.

Napoleon, who at the beginning of his career had expressed such strong republican sentiments, was at the bottom of his nature essentially monarchical. "One of his deepest regrets," says Metternich, "was that he could not invoke the principle of legitimacy as the basis of his power. Few men have felt more profoundly than he how much, without this foundation, authority is precarious and fragile, and how exposed it is to attack." Napoleon expressed the same sentiment on one occasion when he said that he was the only sovereign in Europe who could not return to his capital after a defeat with the same assurance of welcome as if he had gained a victory.

The Dignitaries of State under the Empire were the Constable of France, Louis Bonaparte; the Grand Elector, Joseph Bonaparte; the High Admiral of France, Joachim Murat; the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, Cambacérès; the Arch-Chancellor of State, Eugène Beauharnais; and the Arch-Treasurer of the Empire, Lebrun. With the Emperor, these six grand dignitaries formed the Grand Council of the Empire.

The titles had been borrowed in part from the Holy Roman Empire and in part from the old Monarchy of France. Two of the dignitaries were Napoleon's brothers,

who stood next to him in line of succession, two were his relations by marriage, and two were his former colleagues in the Consulate.

The other two brothers of Napoleon were absent and out of favor: Lucien for having married Mme. Jouberthou, after the death of his first wife, and Jérôme because of his marriage with Miss Patterson of Baltimore.

The new Constitution of the Year Twelve of the Republic was now submitted to popular vote. The plébiscite was worded as follows:

"The French people decree the heredity of the Imperial dignity in the descendants, direct, natural, legitimate and adopted of Napoleon Bonaparte; and in the descendants, direct, natural, and legitimate of Joseph Bonaparte and of Louis Bonaparte."

All of the brothers were offended by these stipulations: Lucien and Jérôme because they were excluded from the line of succession, Joseph and Louis because their children were mentioned instead of themselves.

More than three and a half million votes were cast for the new Constitution, a number which exceeded those given for the Consulate and the Consulate for Life. Only twenty-five hundred votes were recorded in the negative.

Besides the grand dignitaries of the Empire mentioned above there were six Grand Officers of the Crown: Napoleon's uncle, Cardinal Fesch, was Grand Almoner; Talleyrand, Grand Chamberlain, and later Vice Grand Elector; Berthier, Chief Ranger, and later Vice-Constable; Caulaincourt, Master of Horse; Duroc, Marshal of the Palace; and Ségur, Master of Ceremonies.

There were also four Colonel-Generals: Davout, commander of the grenadiers à pied; Soult, commander of the chasseurs à pied; Bessières, commander of the cavalry; and Mortier, commander of the artillery and the sailors. These officers of the Imperial Guard formed a part of the household of the Emperor and enjoyed the same prerogatives as the grand officers of the Crown.

The Emperor's mother was to be styled "Madame

MARSHAL MASSÉNA

Mère"; and his sisters became Imperial Highnesses with their several establishments of ladies-in-waiting.

It now remained to satisfy the Army, by no means an easy task, and Napoleon revived for the benefit of his most distinguished generals the ancient and honorable title of Marshal of France. This dignity originated in the thirteenth century. There was at first only one Maréchal de France, and there were but two until the time of Francis the First. Their number afterwards became unlimited.

The list of the new marshals was published in the "Moniteur" of the 19 May 1804. It comprised fourteen names on the active list, and four honorary appointments with seats in the Senate. The original fourteen were Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Masséna, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davout, and Bessières; while on the inactive list were Kellermann, Lefebvre, Pérignon and Sérurier, all of whom except Lefebvre were over fifty years of age.

An examination of the list reveals in most cases the reasons for the selection. Masséna was the greatest soldier of France, and the only one with perhaps the exception of Davout and Soult who was capable of independent command. Berthier, as chief of staff, and Murat and Lannes as division and corps commanders in Italy and Egypt had won distinction. Ney and Mortier were considered as coming men. Bessières was commander of the cavalry of the new Imperial Guard. The appointments of Augereau and Bernadotte were made mainly for political reasons. The names of the others were connected with glorious victories of the Republic.

At the time of the first creation Moreau, the victor of Hohenlinden, was in disgrace; and Hoche, Kléber, Desaix and Leclerc were dead. But there were other officers of distinction like Macdonald, Victor, Saint-Cyr and Marmont who thought they should have been included, and were much disappointed.

Before the end of the Empire eight more bâtons were

granted. In 1807 Victor was made honorary marshal, not on the active list. Macdonald, Oudinot and Marmont were appointed in 1809 for their exceptional services during the campaign of Wagram. It was said at the time that Napoleon, having lost Lannes, needed three marshals to fill his place, but it is only fair to state that although none of the new men was to be compared with Lannes, they were all quite as good generals as some of the marshals on the original list. In 1811 Suchet received the bâton for his services at the battle and siege of Valencia, and Saint-Cyr was appointed during the Russian campaign of 1812. Prince Poniatowski was honored only two days before his death at Leipzig in 1813. The last marshal to be appointed was Grouchy, just prior to the Waterloo campaign of 1815 in which he proved himself so grossly incompetent.

Of the twenty-six marshals, nine had held commissions ranging from lieutenant to general in the old Royal army; eleven had begun as privates in the ranks, and of these nine had risen to the rank of sergeant. But it must be remembered that the standing of the non-commissioned officers in the old service was very high, as the officers left to them the entire organization, discipline and control of the troops.

It is rather a remarkable fact that only three of the marshals lost their lives on the field of battle. Lannes received his death wounds at Essling in 1809; Bessières was killed at Lützen in 1813, and Poniatowski was drowned in the Elser after the battle of Leipzig the same year. Five met violent deaths after the fall of the Empire: Murat and Ney were shot, Berthier died from an accident, and Brune was murdered, in 1815; and Mortier was killed by an infernal machine at Paris in 1835. All the other marshals outlived the Empire, most of them by many years, the last two survivors, Soult and Marmont, living until after the middle of the century.

When Napoleon became Emperor he was thirty-five years of age. He was in the prime of life, in the full posses-

sion of all his magnificent intellectual powers. He was gifted with a wonderful brain, perhaps the most marvellous ever given to man, lucid, precise, tireless, swift in its processes, tenacious in its grip, served by an accurate and capacious memory. All of his intellectual resources were available at any moment. He said of himself: "Different matters are stored away in my brain as in a chest of drawers. When I wish to interrupt a piece of work I close that drawer and open another. None of them ever get mixed, never does this inconvenience or fatigue me. When I am ready I shut all the drawers and go to sleep."

In him there existed a rare combination of the poetic and the practical, the dreamer and the man of action, joined to an almost superhuman activity. At Saint Helena he said: "Work is my element, for which I was born and fitted. I have known the limits of my arms and legs; I have never discovered those of my power of work." He never spent more than twenty minutes at his meals and needed only four hours of sleep a day. He was able to fall asleep at will and awaken with his mind instantly alert. Working sixteen to twenty hours a day he drove his secretaries at full speed. His published correspondence fills thirty-two volumes, although not more than a third of his letters have yet been printed. His proclamations and his bulletins were masterpieces. His conversation was brilliant and animated. Every one listened to him with pleasure. Although he was frequently rude and ill-bred in his manners, when he wished to gain his point no one could be more fascinating. All writers have spoken of the charm of his smile. No more attractive picture of Napoleon has ever been sketched than that of the royalist Marquise de La Tour du Pin in her charming "Recollections of the Revolution and the Empire."

Says Hazen: "He made his ministers mere hard-worked servants, but he won the admiration and devotion of his soldiers by the glamour of his victories, and he held the peasantry in the hollow of his hand by constantly guaranteeing them their lands and their civil equality, in their

opinion the only things in the Revolution that counted. He was as little as he was big. He is a man of whom more evil and more good can be said and has been said than of many historical figures. He cannot easily be described and certainly not in any brief compass. He ranks with Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, as one of the most powerful conquerors and rulers of history. It is by no means certain that Napoleon would not be considered the greatest of them all."

In the award of honors many outspoken republicans like Saint-Cyr and Macdonald were excluded. Bernadotte, though not in favor, was treated with consideration because he had married the sister of Joseph's wife. He was presented by Napoleon with the house in Paris which had formerly belonged to Moreau, while the latter's estate of Grosbois near Paris went to the faithful Berthier. But the Grand Army was entrusted to the command of men upon whom Napoleon could absolutely rely, like Davout, Soult and Ney.

The record of the great generals of the Republic is in the main a gloomy one. Hoche had died in the Rhineland; Desaix was killed at Marengo, and Kléber was assassinated the same day at Cairo; Leclerc was a victim of the unhealthy climate of Saint-Dominque; Pichegru was strangled in prison; and Moreau was put on trial for high treason.

The evidence against Moreau was not conclusive; the utmost that could be proved was that he desired Napoleon's overthrow, that he had three interviews with Pichegru, and that he did not reveal the plot to the Government. He was condemned to two years in prison, but was accorded the permission to retire to the United States. In order to furnish him with funds for his exile, the Emperor purchased his house in the Rue d'Anjou-Saint-Honorê, for the sum of 800,000 francs, much more than its real value, and presented it to Bernadotte.

Through the supplications of Joséphine and Mme. Murat, the death sentences of the Duc de Polignac and

the Marquis de Rivière were commuted to four years of imprisonment followed by deportation, and these two acts of clemency did much to diminish the irritation of the Royalists.

Napoleon was now absolute master of France. Although the new coins of the Empire bore the inscription "République Française, Napoléon Empereur," only the shadow of the Republic remained: no one longer thought of it. The republican fête of the 14 July was celebrated by a solemn distribution of the crosses of the Légion d'honneur. It was the first public appearance of the new sovereigns. For the first time they traversed in a carriage the grande allée of the Gardens of the Tuileries. Accompanied by a magnificent escort, they went in great state to the Eglise des Invalides, which during the Republic had been a Temple of Mars, and which the Empire had again made a Catholic church. During the ceremony, the Emperor called to him Cardinal Caprara, who had negotiated the Concordat, and who was soon to be very instrumental in persuading the Pope to come to Paris for the coronation. Detaching from his neck the grand cordon of the Légion d'honneur, Napoleon presented it to this venerable prelate.

In spite of the enthusiasm of the people and of the army, it was already evident to serious observers that the new régime, without the solid foundation which resists misfortunes, had need of perpetual success in order to endure. Napoleon was condemned not only to succeed, but to dazzle and to subjugate the world. His empire demanded extraordinary pomp, gigantic adventures, colossal victories. Like his nephew Napoleon the Third, he comprehended the difficulties of his rôle, and realized how necessary it is to give a nation glory in order to make it forget its liberty. This perpetual need of action and of renown was to be at once the cause of the strength and of the weakness of Napoleon's career.

Before being crowned by the Pope, in imitation of Charlemagne, Napoleon wished to visit the tomb of the

Great Emperor of whom he considered himself the worthy successor. In his visit to Aix-la-Chapelle he was preceded by several days by the Empress, who wished to take the waters of that city. Three days after the July fête the Emperor had left for the camp at Boulogne. After remaining there several weeks, and visiting other points along the coast, Napoleon rejoined Joséphine at Aix-la-Chapelle on the third of September.

When the Great Emperor's tomb was opened, his skeleton was found clothed in Roman garb; the double crown of France and Germany encircled the skull; beside him lay his famous sword; and around his neck was hung the celebrated Talisman which brought him success. This Talisman was a piece of the real cross, encased in an emerald which was hung to a thick gold ring by a slender chain. This relic was presented to Napoleon by the city authorities, and he wore it on his breast at Austerlitz and Wagram. In 1813 he gave it to Hortense. The Talisman was in the bedroom of Napoleon the Third when he died at Chislehurst, and in 1920 just before her death was presented by the Empress Eugénie to the *trésor* of the celebrated cathedral at Reims, which was so much damaged by the German bombardment during the Great War.

From Aix-la-Chapelle, the sovereigns proceeded via Cologne to Mayence. Here the Emperor found himself surrounded by a regular Court of German princes. The journey along the banks of the Rhine made a great impression on France and on the rest of Europe.

Napoleon desired to have his imperial title consecrated by a grand religious ceremony which would have an immense effect on the whole Catholic world. The date of the Coronation was finally fixed for the second of December 1804. Just a month before, the Pope, Pius Seventh, then sixty-two years of age, set out for Paris. Three weeks later, he was met by Napoleon at Fontainebleau, where he remained several days and then proceeded to Paris, and

took up his quarters in the Tuileries in the Pavillon de Flore.

All Paris was agitated by the approach of the great event. The hotels were full to overflowing. There were rehearsals of the coronation as for a great theatrical production. All the details had been arranged by the Emperor in advance with as much care as the plan of a great battle.

At last the second of December dawned. From early morning all Paris was on foot. The sky was overcast and it was very cold, but no one thought of the rigor of the season. The Pope left the Tuileries for Notre-Dame at nine o'clock and Napoleon and Joséphine followed an hour later, in a carriage with Joseph and Louis.

Arrived at the palace of the archbishop, Napoleon put on the coronation costume. Over a narrow robe of white satin, he wore a heavy mantle of crimson velvet. On his head he placed a crown of golden laurels; on his neck the collar of the Légion d'honneur, in diamonds; at his side a sword ornamented with the Regent diamond.

After the High Mass the Pope blessed the Imperial ornaments and then returned them to the Emperor: the ring, which he passed upon his finger; the sword, which he replaced in its sheath; the mantle, which was attached to his shoulders by the chamberlains; then the sceptre and the "hand of justice," which he gave to the Arch-Treasurer and the Arch-Chancellor.

The only ornament which remained to be handed to the Emperor was the crown. As the Pope was about to proceed with this last act of the ceremony, Napoleon took from his hands the sign of supreme power and proudly placed it himself upon his head. He then approached the Empress, who was kneeling before him, and tenderly placed the Imperial diadem upon her head. This scene is familiar to all who have seen in the Louvre the celebrated painting of the Coronation by David, which however is not entirely accurate, as Madame Mère, who was not present, is depicted.

The ceremony was a great success, and Napoleon said

to Joseph, "If our father could see us now!" It was after six o'clock when the Imperial party returned to the Tuileries, and Napoleon, fatigued after so much pomp, resumed with pleasure his modest uniform of colonel of the Chasseurs de la Garde. He dined alone with Joséphine, whom he begged to retain the diadem which she wore so gracefully and which became her so well.

The Coronation was the signal for a series of fêtes, of which perhaps the most brilliant was that given to the Emperor and Empress by the Marshals of the Empire at the Opéra, which was then located in the Rue Richelieu. This building was torn down under the Restoration, after the death of the Duc de Berry, who was assassinated on the very threshold of the theatre. It was succeeded by the building in the Rue le Peletier, constructed on the site of the former gardens of the Hôtel de Choiseul, which was the scene of the celebrated attempt of Orsini on the life of Napoleon the Third, in 1858. Two years later the present superb "National Academy of Music" was begun in the Place de l'Opéra, but was not finished until four years after the downfall of the Second Empire.

The visit of the Pope to Paris was marked by two other religious ceremonies. Joséphine had informed him at Fontainebleau that her union with Napoleon had never been blessed by the Church. He at once announced to Napoleon that a religious ceremony must be performed before the Coronation. So Napoleon and Joséphine were privately married in the chapel of the Tuileries by Cardinal Fesch on the evening before the Coronation.

A week before the departure of the Pope for Rome, the second son of Louis and Hortense, Napoleon Louis, was baptized with great pomp by the Pope himself at Saint-Cloud on the 24 March 1805. The gallery of the Château was converted into a chapel for the ceremony. On this occasion Madame Mère was present.

On the fourth of April 1805 the Pope left Paris, and about the same time the Emperor and Empress set out from Fontainebleau for Milan where Napoleon was to be

crowned as King of Italy. At Turin on the 29 April they made their adieux to Pius Seventh who proceeded to Rome.

On the third of May, Napoleon met at Alessandria his youngest brother Jérôme who had incurred his displeasure by the marriage with Miss Patterson, two years before. Before leaving Paris the Emperor had finally persuaded his mother to sign a formal protest against this marriage on the ground that under the law of the Year One of the Republic any marriage was null and void if contracted by a minor without the consent of his father and mother. A few days later Jérôme arrived at Lisbon with his wife. He was allowed to land, but she was forced to reëmbark for England. Under orders from the Emperor, Jérôme travelled post-haste to Italy. After a decisive interview with Napoleon, Jérôme basely agreed to abandon his wife and her unborn child, and was again restored to favor.

Napoleon's coronation as King of Italy took place the 26 May 1805 in the beautiful cathedral of Milan. The weather was magnificent and the city was crowded with people. Joséphine, although she bore the title of Queen of Italy, was not to be crowned. After the religious ceremonies, which were similar to those at Notre-Dame, Napoleon himself placed upon his head the celebrated Iron Crown of the ancient Kings of Lombardy, at the same time using the traditional formula, "God gave it me; woe to him who touches it!" He then took the crown of Italy which he placed on his head in the same manner.

On the seventh of June, Napoleon appointed Prince Eugène de Beauharnais as Viceroy of the Kingdom of Italy, and three days later with Joséphine he left Milan on a visit to the celebrated battle-fields. The first week in July was passed at Genoa, where magnificent fêtes were given to celebrate the incorporation of the ancient republic in the French Empire.

From Genoa, they proceeded to Turin, where the Emperor received news of the organization of the Third Coalition. Napoleon, accompanied by Joséphine, left im-

mediately for France. Travelling incognito at full speed, without any escort, he arrived at Fontainebleau on the 11 July after an absence of exactly one hundred days.

The speed at which Napoleon travelled may be of interest. Four days after his arrival he wrote Eugène as follows: "I arrived at Fontainebleau eighty-five hours after my departure from Turin. Nevertheless I lost three hours on Mont-Cenis and I stopped constantly on account of the Empress. One or two hours to breakfast and one or two hours to dine made me lose eight or ten hours more."

The distance by rail is about 440 miles and the express trains via the Mont-Cenis tunnel make the run to-day in about fourteen hours. Allowing for the delays of which he speaks, and the longer distance by road, Napoleon travelled at the rate of nearly seven miles an hour.

Napoleon at once began work on the plans for the campaign which was to open the following month and which was to end on the anniversary of his coronation in the glorious victory of Austerlitz.

CHAPTER TWELVE

1805

AUSTERLITZ

The Third Coalition — Napoleon Dictates the Plan of Campaign — Commanders of the *Corps-d'Armée* — Napoleon His Own Chief of Staff — His Military Household — His Way of Travelling — His Method of Work — Plans of the Coalition — The Grand Army Leaves Its Camps — The Fine Ulm Manœuvre — Mack Surrenders the Fortress — Napoleon Enters Vienna — His Critical Position — He Advances to Brünn — The Battle-field of Austerlitz — The Plan of the Allies — Napoleon Prepares for a Decisive Battle — Positions of the Corps — Napoleon Tells the Army His Plan of Battle — The Anniversary of the Coronation — The "Sun of Austerlitz" — The Allied Attack — The French Take the Pratzen — The Battle Won — The Emperor Francis Sues for Peace — The Treaty of Presburg — End of the Coalition — Death of Pitt

ON the second of January 1805, a month after his coronation, Napoleon wrote a personal letter to George the Third proposing peace. He still had his mind set on his plan of colonial expansion to which Great Britain was the greatest obstacle. French trade had been driven from the seas and French fleets were blockaded in their ports. Some of the West India islands had again passed into the hands of England, and Napoleon had been forced to sell Louisiana to save it from the same fate.

England had not evacuated Malta as agreed, and London had become a hot-bed of royalist conspiracies against Napoleon's person and government. A superb army had been assembled at Boulogne for the invasion of England. The pacific Addington had retired from office and Pitt, the great war-leader, had returned to power. His first move had been to form the Third Coalition against France.

The King's reply to Napoleon's overtures was that he

must consult the Continental Powers, and in particular Russia, before giving a definite answer.

The Czar had been much mortified by the secondary part which he had played in the settlement of affairs in Germany after the Peace of Lunéville. In October 1803 the Austrian Government was invited to make arrangements for joint action with Russia, but shrunk from the prospect of another war. A year later, in November 1804, she finally agreed to sign a declaration, but not a treaty, by which the two Powers undertook to resist further French aggressions in Italy and Germany.

At length, on the 11 April 1805, a formal treaty was signed by which the two Powers agreed to form a European league for the restoration of peace and of the balance of power. Holland, Switzerland and Italy were to be freed from French control. England promised to pay a large annual subsidy for the maintenance of the troops employed against France.

At a moment when it seemed possible that the Coalition might fall through, Napoleon brought the matter to a head by his decision to assume the crown of Italy. He had first offered the crown to Joseph, and then on his refusal to Louis, but both declined to give up their rights to the Imperial succession for a nominal kingship. Napoleon therefore announced his decision to himself assume the Iron Crown of Lombardy. In June, Genoa was formally annexed to the Empire and Lucca turned into a principality for Elisa. Shortly afterwards Parma was also annexed. By these steps all Italy west of the Adige and north of Tuscany was brought under the direct rule of Napoleon.

As we have already seen, Napoleon arrived at Fontainebleau on his return from Italy on the 11 July. After remaining there a week he went to Saint-Cloud with Joséphine, and the night of his arrival they attended the opera, where Napoleon received a warm reception. He then proceeded to Boulogne where he held a review of the army which had been assembled for the invasion of England.

On the seventh of July, Francis the Second signed the

formal orders for the mobilization of the Austrian armies, and on the twenty-second Villeneuve, after an indecisive action with the English fleet off Ferrol, set sail for Cadiz instead of Brest as ordered by the Emperor. News travelled very slowly in those days and definite reports of these two events did not reach Napoleon at Boulogne until the second week in August.

It will always remain a mooted question whether Napoleon was really serious in his intention of invading England, but the weight of evidence seems to be in the affirmative. But whatever his intentions may have been he was now forced to change his plans. Calling Daru, the commissary-general of the army, to his headquarters at Pont-de-Brique, a small château a league from Boulogne where he stayed when he went to inspect the Ocean camps, at four o'clock in the morning he began to dictate, unhesitatingly and in his usual concise manner, the plan of the 1805 campaign as far as Vienna. When he had finished at nine o'clock he ordered Daru to leave at once for Paris and with the utmost secrecy prepare with General Dejean, the Minister of War, the detailed orders for the marches. Napoleon himself also set out for the capital, where on the 27 August he signed the official marching orders directing the steps of the Grand Army towards the Rhine. The newspapers were strictly enjoined not to publish any reports of these movements of the troops, and Napoleon remained quietly at Saint-Cloud until the 23 September in order to lull any suspicions of the Allies.

At the same time that the Emperor dictated his plan of campaign on the 13 August he instructed Talleyrand, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to demand of the Austrian Government that it should immediately disband its army, and to intimate that if he did not have assurance on this subject within two weeks, the Emperor Francis should not celebrate the Christmas festival in Vienna!

In many respects Austerlitz is the most interesting of all of Napoleon's campaigns. It was the first in which he

commanded as Emperor. The army was much the largest which he had yet had under his orders, and according to his own statement it was the best he ever commanded. The final victory was the most brilliant and the most decisive he ever won, a real *chef-d'œuvre* of battles, of which he was always very proud.

It may therefore be of interest to speak here of some of the generals who won undying glory under Napoleon's leadership and to examine briefly his method of conducting his campaigns.

The Grand Army had been encamped for two years on the shores of the Channel, wholly engaged in military exercises. Napoleon had occupied this time in perfecting its organization, and never was there anything finer or more martial. The system of divisions employed during the Revolution had been abandoned, and the army was organized in seven corps, of from two to four divisions each, commanded by marshals. There were also powerful reserves of cavalry, and the Imperial Guard. The marshals were all men tried in many battles, but all were not at first given assignments.

Bernadotte had the first corps. Astute, calm, selfish, calculating, of more polished manners than most of the marshals, he had considerable powers of command, but Napoleon never fully trusted him and perhaps employed him in the field because he thought it dangerous to leave him behind in France.

Marmont, formerly an aide de camp, and an artillery officer, commanded the second corps, although he had not yet been made marshal.

Davout was at the head of the third corps. With the exception only of Masséna he was the ablest of the marshals. He was a stern disciplinarian, but popular with his men, for whose comfort he was ever solicitous.

Soult was placed in charge of the fourth corps. He was a man of large frame, with an active mind. In Switzerland and at Genoa he had given proofs of superior talents. He was a capable commander, but was detested by his subordinates.

MARSHAL SOULT

Lannes had the fifth corps. He had first attracted the attention of Napoleon by his bravery in Italy, where he promoted him on the field of battle. He had watched Lannes' progress as a commander and seen him steadily improve. He said of him at Saint Helena, "He was a pigmy when I took him: a giant when I lost him." Napoleon had for him a warmer feeling of friendship than for any of his other marshals. At his deathbed the Emperor could not control his grief. Lannes feared the Emperor no more than he did the enemy and never failed to express himself with a frankness and familiarity which would not have been tolerated from any other general.

Ney commanded the sixth corps. "The bravest of the brave" occupied a unique position in the army. His good nature made him a general favorite with officers and men. Like many of his associates he did not understand war on the map, but on the field of battle he had no equal. He was at his best in command of the rearguard of a retreating army. In Portugal and in Russia he proved himself a great soldier. In his career there is much that is pathetic which blots out his faults and compels our admiration.

Augereau was put in charge of the seventh corps which was formed later at Brest. His imposing personal appearance and martial air had made his fortune, but he did little in later campaigns to justify the reputation he had gained in Italy.

Bessières commanded the Imperial Guard, with which his name will forever be associated. Acting always under the personal orders of the Emperor he never had any opportunity to establish a reputation for originality or independence.

Murat was at the head of the reserves of cavalry. He is perhaps the most picturesque figure among Napoleon's generals. He owed his position more to his connection by marriage with the Emperor than to his military merits. With but limited intelligence, brave to a fault, vain and ambitious, he was the *beau idéal* of the leader of a cavalry charge. But he was not in any sense a great cavalry

general, and even on the battle-field frequently handled his men badly.

The commanders of the Grand Army were remarkable for their comparative youth. Napoleon was thirty-six, and Soult, Lannes and Ney were the same age; Davout was a year and Murat two years younger, while Marmont was only thirty-one. The oldest were Bessières, thirty-seven, Bernadotte forty-two and Augereau forty-eight.

Among the division commanders were many men who attained great distinction in after years: Oudinot, Suchet and Grouchy, all later made marshals; Vandamme, Dupont and Saint-Hilaire, all names well known in the history of Napoleon's campaigns; but it is impossible to dwell on them here.

From this portrait of Napoleon's marshals it will be seen that with the exception of Davout and Soult there was none to whom he could then entrust an independent command.

The seven corps, each of from two to four divisions, varied greatly in numbers, a sure gauge of Napoleon's opinion of the ability of the respective commanders. Augereau had 14,000 men; Bernadotte and Lannes each 18,000; Marmont, 21,000; Ney, 24,000; Davout, 27,000; and Soult, 41,000. The Guard, under Bessières, numbered 6000, and the cavalry, under Murat, 22,000; a grand total of 191,000 men.

At this time Masséna with 50,000 men in Italy was opposed to the Archduke Charles with double his forces. Masséna, whom Napoleon called "l'Enfant chéri de la Victoire," was the ablest of the marshals, and the one best fitted for independent command. At Zurich, and in the defence of Genoa, he had showed great vigor. He was a man of strong character, tried courage, and great resolution. He ranked very high among the generals of the day. At that time he was in his fiftieth year.

The brain, the soul of the whole organization, was Napoleon himself. He alone commanded in chief, com-

bining in his own person the functions not only of head of the State, but also of Generalissimo, and of Chief of Staff, in fact if not in name. Herein lay the great defect of his military organization, which became more and more evident with the growth of his armies in later years. Napoleon was fortunate enough never to be wounded but once, and then not seriously, and he had an iron constitution which bore all the fatigues of his numerous campaigns. But if anything had happened to him at a critical moment, there was no one to replace him. Berthier, the nominal Chief of Staff, was only a very able and very useful head-clerk, who received in the name of the Emperor the reports of the marshals and signed his orders for him. The only time that he ever had the opportunity of acting on his own initiative, at the beginning of the Wagram campaign, he nearly brought the army to disaster. If the senior Moltke had been killed or fallen sick, there were many officers on the Prussian staff who could have filled his place with credit, but Napoleon was the one star performer who never had an understudy.

During his campaigns, Napoleon was always accompanied by Berthier, Duroc and Caulaincourt, besides several secretaries and a crowd of aides de camp. Duroc did not possess a brilliant mind, but was faithful and upright, and very useful to the Emperor, whose entire confidence he possessed. Caulaincourt was always by the Emperor's side, his duty being to accompany him everywhere. He was an excellent general officer: frank and loyal, and loved and esteemed by all. After the death of Duroc in 1813, he combined the duties of Grand Marshal with those of Chief Equerry. The above mentioned officers, with numerous attendants and servants, constituted the Emperor's military household, which at the end of 1806 numbered 800 persons.

The Emperor's personal domestic staff consisted of Constant, his head valet de chambre from 1800 to 1814, and three assistants. Next to Constant the most intimate of Napoleon's servants was the Mameluke Roustan, who

always guarded him at night, and acted as outrider by day, carrying his great-coat and portmanteau.

To complete the description of the Emperor's household it remains to speak of his staff of secretaries, who were very few in number for the arduous duties required of them. Napoleon did not like new faces, consequently he had from 1796 to 1815 only three private secretaries: Bourrienne, his old school friend whom he was obliged to dismiss for dishonesty in 1802; Méneval, who was in all the campaigns of the Empire until 1813, and finally, Fain.

During a campaign it was Napoleon's custom to remain at headquarters until the last moment, and then travel rapidly by carriage so as to be at the head of his corps the moment his presence was necessary. The interior of his travelling carriage was so arranged that he could use it as a bed by night and so travel without fatigue.

For the past eighty years the most interesting exhibit at Madame Tussaud's in London has been the last travelling carriage used by Napoleon, which was captured by the Prussians after the battle of Waterloo. It was built for him in 1811, and was employed during the Russian campaign of 1812, and the following year in Germany; it carried him from Fontainebleau to the coast in 1814, and from Paris to Belgium in June 1815.

In general design it may be described as a two-seated *berline de voyage*. The coach is very heavily and strongly built, and the exterior is very plain, the only mark of distinction being the Imperial arms emblazoned on the door-panels. The body is swung on thick leather straps, attached to strong C springs. At the four corners of the body there are square black metal lamps, made to take large wax candles. A travelling trunk was carried behind on a rack.

The coach was drawn by six heavy Norman horses, four driven by the coachman, and the leaders under control of a postilion.

The interior is more interesting than the exterior. There are two deep and roomy seats, divided by a movable arm-

rest. High up in the front of the vehicle are a pair of windows, beneath which in the space usually occupied by the front seat there is a curious bulkhead or boot which constitutes the most unusual feature of the carriage. Folding into this receptacle, opposite the right-hand seat, used by the Emperor, there is a well-appointed desk which when drawn out comes over to the back seat. Behind this there is a secret compartment for money and objects of value.

Below these fittings there is a large cloth-covered door, hinged to open towards the middle of the coach, so that it divides the lower portion of the interior into two separate parts. When so placed it exposes a large cavity forming the foot of the sleeping compartment. Here neatly encased within a receptacle six inches deep and three feet high, folded ready to be withdrawn at a moment's notice, is Napoleon's bedstead. When connected by a board with the seat, which constituted the head of the bed, this formed a very comfortable couch, on which the Emperor could repose at full length. In the same space were carried the mattress and bed-linen.

The other side of the carriage is similarly arranged, but with drawers in place of the desk. In these were carried toilet articles and a complete table service. The interior is lined throughout with dark-blue cloth; and there is an oil reading lamp in the centre of the back of the carriage.

When at the head of his troops the Emperor rode on horseback. He had a bad seat and was only a mediocre horseman, but his endurance, until he became stout after the age of forty, was remarkable. In Spain in 1809 he covered the distance from Valladolid to Burgos, nearly eighty miles, in five hours. In such cases he had relays and changed horses every ten or fifteen kilomètres. He usually rode small white Arabian horses, the appearance of which is familiar to us from Meissonier's paintings. They were good-tempered, gentle gallopers and easy amblers, and trained with the greatest care, so as to be accustomed to all sorts of sounds and the sight of all kinds of objects. The

white steed "Marengo" which he rode at Waterloo lived to take part in his funeral procession in 1840.

At his headquarters in the field, whether temporary or permanent, Napoleon always required, besides his sleeping-room, an office in the centre of which was a table with his map spread out. In the corners of the room were tables for his secretaries.

The Emperor usually retired at eight o'clock, after dinner, and rose again about one or two in the morning, when the reports began to come in. On the map, which was surrounded by twenty or thirty candles, the positions of his corps, and also of the enemy as far as known, were marked by pins. It was on this that he worked, moving his compass, open to the scale of six to seven leagues, the length of a march. As soon as he had made up his mind, he began to dictate his orders rapidly, while walking around the room. It was always difficult for his secretaries to keep pace with him. As soon as the orders were written out they were presented for his initial, an abstract was made for the files, and the orders were then dispatched to the different marshals, so that the corps would be ready to march at day-break. It is remarkable that Napoleon made large use of civilians for the secretariat of his staff. Notwithstanding its faults Napoleon's staff system worked admirably in his own hands.

The Coalition plan of campaign was for 60,000 Austrians and 90,000 Russians to operate in the Danube Valley under Archduke Ferdinand, with Mack as his Chief of Staff, while 150,000 Austrians under Archduke Charles were to be in Italy on the Adige where the main attack was to be delivered against the French, who were expected to be under the personal command of Napoleon.

But Napoleon gave Masséna the command in Italy with a strong corps, and ordered him to contain the Austrians there until the campaign took a decisive turn in Germany, while he himself took the command of the Grand Army of seven corps with a strength of about

200,000. At the outset the campaign took a favorable turn for Napoleon when Mack issued orders for his troops to cross the frontier at once, without waiting for the Russians, with the idea of cutting off Bavaria from her alliance with France.

The six French corps left their camps on the 27 August, and the Guard left Paris the same day. All had orders to march by the shortest way to the Rhine and the Main with a general line of direction on Ulm. The distance from Boulogne to Strasbourg is about 300 miles and the troops covered it in twenty-nine days, crossing the Rhine on the 27 September. Napoleon himself left Paris the 23 September and was at Strasbourg three days later. There he learned that Mack had entered Ulm on the twentieth.

Continuing his advance, and finding no signs of Mack, Napoleon crossed the Danube on the seventh of October, leaving only the corps of Ney on the north side to bar the roads from Ulm to Bohemia. Forming his troops into three groups, the Emperor directed Lannes and Murat to march on Ulm, while Bernadotte and Marmont were to advance on Munich and hold off the Russians who were erroneously reported to have arrived there. Napoleon himself with the two strong corps of Soult and Davout advanced on the tenth to Augsburg, where he was in a position to support either Murat or Bernadotte according to circumstances.

While Napoleon was breaking up the camp at Boulogne the last of August, Mack had marched into Bavaria to force her either to join the Coalition or remain neutral. The Bavarians fell back to Bamberg, and Mack took up a position between Ulm and Lake Constance to await the arrival of the Russians, who were still 250 miles away and could not be expected before the middle of October. He was looking for the French, who had usually advanced through the Black Forest, to follow the customary route. About this time he received the news that Napoleon with his main army was coming to Germany and not going to Italy. He immediately gave orders to change the direction

of large bodies of troops which were marching to Italy, but it was too late to do any good.

All of Napoleon's movements up to his arrival at Stuttgart had escaped Mack's knowledge. Finding at last that Napoleon was on the way to envelope his right flank and cut off his line of communications, in six days he made no less than six different plans to escape from the net fast closing around him, but all in vain. He tried, first, to oppose Napoleon's crossing the Danube; next, to retreat through Augsburg; then, to cross the Danube to the north; then, to retreat by way of Ulm into Bohemia; then, after determining to remain in Ulm, he finally again decided to retreat into Bohemia. But it was now too late. Napoleon was advancing on both banks of the river, and on the fifteenth Mack was driven back into the fortress which was now entirely dominated. On the 17 October he surrendered with 23,000 men. Two large detachments which attempted to escape were also surrounded and captured. In all 50,000 Austrians were taken prisoners. Only Archduke Ferdinand with a small force succeeded in getting away safely. The Austrians had been beaten almost without firing a shot. It was a repetition on a larger scale of the strategy of Marengo. "The whole Ulm manœuvre," says Dodge, "is one of the very finest in history."

Napoleon immediately turned back his main body to join Bernadotte and concentrate his forces. This was accomplished on the twenty-fifth, when the French were about 225 miles from Vienna, to which they now advanced rapidly.

On the 13 November Murat seized the bridge across the Danube at Vienna by a stratagem, so that Napoleon could cross the river immediately. The next two days he gathered together the troops that had crossed the river and pressed on to Brünn. There he came to a halt, as he had only 50,000 men actually in hand: the Guard and the corps of Lannes and Soult.

In spite of the great success of his campaign up to this point, the position of Napoleon was really critical. The French army was 400 miles from its base, and was much

Kowalowitz
Neu Raussnitz
Bagration
Bosenitz Berg or Santon
Kellermann
Bellowitz
Lannes
Murat
Kruh
Hollubitz
St Urbans Chapel
Nunnenn
AUSTERLITZ
Bernadotte
Schlapanitz
Vanhamme
Puntowitz
Soult
Pratzen
Kobelnitz
Pond
Kobelnitz
Langeron
Shidlarow
Birnbaum
Krzenowitz
Littawa R
Hodieyitz
Wazan
Dolgoroff
Kl Hostiradek
Sokolnitz
Bucharwden
Titnitz
Aujezd
Toussle
Lake of Satschan
Satschan
Uttnitz
Herspitz
Road to Brunn
BATTLE
OF
AUSTERLITZ
2 December 1805
French
Cavalry
Austrians & Russians
Infantry
Artillery
SCALE
English Miles

weakened by detachments. Its long line of communications ran through southern Germany, which was friendly, but to the north Prussia was beginning to arm. Winter was already at hand, and both the Emperor and his soldiers were anxious to be back in France.

The Czar believed that Napoleon had only a very weak force at Brünn, so he decided to attack him there, which was exactly what Napoleon wanted. The Allies advanced so slowly that the Emperor had ample time to concentrate his forces.

On the 30 November the French outposts were driven in. Napoleon immediately penetrated the designs of the Allies and did his best to encourage them. He drew his troops slowly back and took up a position which he had selected between Brünn and Austerlitz which lent itself well to the turning movement at which the Allies were aiming. There the French army took station on the night of the first of December, while Kutusov disposed his troops on the rising ground opposite.

The *terrain* of Austerlitz is very much broken. There are a number of hills, and valleys which will hide large bodies of troops. In the square of say ten miles from east to west by seven miles from north to south, the fortress-city of Brünn occupies the northwest corner, and past it in a marshy lowland a mile wide flows the Schwartzawa River, bordering the field on the west. From the river, to the east, the ground rises and falls in a gradual ascent to the plateau of Pratzen which occupies the centre of the theatre, and from thence it gradually descends to the town of Austerlitz. Southwest of Pratzen on the southern boundary of the square there are two large ponds. The plateau is skirted on the west by a brook called Goldbach, and on the east and south sides flows the Littawa River. The road from Brünn to Vienna runs due south along the west bank of the Schwartzawa. The country is dotted with villages which are connected by good dirt roads. There are few woods, and the theatre though full of hills and dales forms a good field of manœuvre. At the time

of the battle the ponds were frozen, and the ice on the marshy ground gave a secure footing.

Napoleon, who had been on the ground for several days, had been in the saddle most of the time, and ridden over the entire country to the north of the Littawa. Any ordinary general would have occupied the heights of Pratzen, and fought a defensive battle, but he wanted a fight to a decision and not, "only an ordinary battle," as he expressed it.

The trained eye of Napoleon had not failed to catch the intention of the Allies, which was by a wide circuit of the French right flank to seize the road running south from Brünn, cut him off from Vienna, and recover the capital. This would also enable them to join hands with Archduke Charles who was coming up from Italy. As a strategic measure their course was proper, but from the tactical standpoint the long circuit was an error, and just one of those which Napoleon liked to see his enemies commit. Their manœuvre would enable him to pierce their centre, cut them in two, and decisively defeat them. "To the average commander," says Dodge, "it would have been a gambling transaction; to Napoleon it was betting on a certainty."

With this object in view, Napoleon left the Pratzen to be occupied by the enemy, and drew up his army behind the brook with his left flank on the Santon hill, which he had caused to be strongly intrenched. Lannes was at the left, Soult in the centre, and Davout, who had just arrived, at the right. Bernadotte also came up in the afternoon and went into position between and to the rear of Lannes and Soult. Murat and the cavalry were placed behind Lannes. Bessières with the Guard, in reserve, was back of Bernadotte in the vicinity of the hill where the Emperor had his bivouac. The French right under Davout was intended to contain the allied left which was reaching around to the Vienna road until the moment arrived for Napoleon with his massed left and centre to take advantage of any opening.

The Emperor had by his side Berthier, Junot, his first aide de camp, and all his staff. Near by stood the Guard. As from his bivouac he calmly watched the movements of the Allies, Napoleon saw his judgment confirmed that they were attempting to turn his right; and that in so doing their right and left wings would get separated by the plateau of Pratzen, which would give him an opportunity to break through the centre. The Allies were convinced that the French would fight a defensive battle, and their only fear was that they would try to escape.

During the afternoon of the first, contrary to his usual habit, the Emperor assembled his marshals and explained to them in detail his plan of battle, and told each one the rôle which was assigned to him. Napoleon was so confident of victory that he even went so far as to explain to his soldiers what he was about to do. In a proclamation to the army he said, "while they are marching to turn my right, they will present me their flank."

During the evening, when the Emperor made the round of the bivouacs, he was greeted with the utmost enthusiasm. It was the eve of the first anniversary of his coronation. In an instant torches of straw were put at the top of thousands of poles and from seventy thousand throats there came a simultaneous cry of "Vive l'Empereur!"

At one o'clock the Emperor retired and took a short rest until between four and five when the troops began to move into their respective places. He then took his station on the bivouac hill, with the marshals around him, ready to receive their final orders. A thick fog covered the landscape, but by seven o'clock the tops of the hills began to appear. Suddenly the "sun of Austerlitz" burst forth in all its glory and showed the heights of Pratzen for the moment denuded of troops. The enemy, as he expected, had weakened his centre and given Napoleon the opportunity he sought.

The allied left, thirty thousand strong, was marching to turn the French right and seize the Vienna road. Turning to Soult, whose troops were massed in two lines of bat-

talions in "column of attack" the Emperor asked, "How long a time do you require to reach the heights of Pratzen?" Soult replied, "Less than twenty minutes." "In that case let us wait a quarter of an hour more."

In the meantime the strong allied force was making good progress against the French right and their heads of columns were getting well across the Goldbach. But Davout, fighting with his usual stubbornness, was keeping the Russians in check, and this flank was never in any real danger.

It was nearly nine o'clock when Napoleon finally gave the order for Soult to attack, and his force was soon in rapid motion towards the plateau of Pratzen. The other marshals, Murat, Lannes, and Bernadotte, galloped down from bivouac hill to head their respective corps.

Napoleon had been remarkably accurate in his timing. At this moment an allied column, accompanied by headquarters, the Czar and Kutusov in person, was climbing the opposite side of the plateau. This force was marching in route order, thinking that the French were yet far distant. On reaching the brow of the plateau the Russian commander was astonished beyond measure to see the French about to assault the hill with a force far outnumbering his own. Realizing his danger, Kutusov made a brave resistance, but was soon driven back down the hill.

While the possession of Pratzen was being contested, Lannes, Murat and Bernadotte were delivering a strong attack on the left and gaining ground steadily. Here there was a sharp fight between the French cavalry under Murat and the Imperial Russian Guards, commanded by Grand Duke Constantine. To put an end to this conflict, Napoleon ordered in Bessières with the cavalry of the Imperial Guard, and these superb squadrons easily rode down the Russian cavalry. Bernadotte and Lannes again advanced, and by eleven o'clock the whole Russian right was in full retreat on Austerlitz. In the meantime, far away to the south, the allied left was being held in check

by the superb work of the French right under Davout. A huge gap of three miles lay between the two allied wings, where Soult was driving back the weak allied centre. As an exhibition of grand-tactics Austerlitz will ever remain a model.

Before noon Soult was in full possession of the Pratzen; the allied army had been cut in two, and their left, fighting on the Goldbach, had been caught in the triangle between the brook, the ponds, and the Littawa, with its line of retreat completely severed.

The Emperor had followed the advance of his left wing, until he saw that there was no further danger from that quarter. He then galloped over to Soult, followed by the Guard. In passing, he told his men that the battle was won, and the cheers swept like a tidal wave along the entire line.

Soult now turned south from the Pratzen and took the allied line in reverse, while Davout, who had been standing on the defensive, attacked in force. By two o'clock the Russians were completely surrounded, and men and guns were captured by wholesale. Two thousand men, attempting to cross the ponds, were destroyed by the French artillery, which broke the ice.

From Saint Anthony's Chapel, south of the Pratzen, the Emperor watched the destruction of the allied left wing.

At the fall of night, the valley of the Littawa separated the two armies. The French bivouacked in the position the Allies had held the night before. The two Emperors were at Austerlitz preparing to retreat into Hungary.

Napoleon had under his colors at Austerlitz about 65,000 men and his losses were not far from seven thousand. The Allies put in line about 85,000 and their loss in killed, wounded and missing was fully 25,000 men, and one hundred and sixty guns. But these losses are no adequate measure of the victory. The beaten army was completely demoralized. There was no longer any organized force, only a disordered band of marauders. Few

victories have been more splendid than Austerlitz or better deserved. Napoleon never ceased to feel that Austerlitz was his most brilliant battle. Marengo, Ulm, Jena were battles won as the result of able strategic combinations. Rivoli, Austerlitz, Dresden, exhibited Napoleon's grand-tactics on the battle-field as the others did not.

At dusk Napoleon rode over the field, according to his habit, addressing each regiment as he passed, for he knew by heart the history of every one. To the fifty-seventh he said, "Remember, years ago I named you the 'Terrible.'" The Infantry of the Guard shed tears of rage at not having been put in.

By midnight Napoleon took up his quarters at the post-house of Posorsitz, about three miles northwest of Austerlitz on the road from Brünn to Olmütz. Hither at early dawn on the third came Prince Lichtenstein from the Emperor Francis with the request for a truce and a personal interview. The message from the Austrian Emperor was the first intimation Napoleon had of the full effects of his victory and he resolved at once to secure all its fruits. He refused the truce, but made an appointment to meet Francis on the following day. At the same time he gave Murat orders to pursue the enemy. To Talleyrand who was at Vienna trying to arrange terms of peace, he sent a courier, saying: "I can write you only two words. An army of one hundred thousand men commanded by the two Emperors is entirely destroyed. All protocols become unnecessary. The negotiations become null."

On the afternoon of the fourth the Emperor of Austria visited Napoleon at his headquarters near the mill of Sarochitz where an agreement was made to stop hostilities. The Russians were to retire to Poland and terms of peace were to be arranged at once at Presburg.

By the treaty signed the 26 December 1805 Austria paid heavily. To Italy she ceded Venetia and part of Istria and Dalmatia, and to Bavaria, the Tyrol. The King of Naples "ceased to reign." The Electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg were recognized as Kings, and so by the

irony of fate Napoleon bestowed a crown on the daughter of George the Third.

The peace of Presburg shattered the third coalition organized by William Pitt. When the news of Austerlitz reached London, Pitt was already on his death-bed. He asked to have the map of Europe unrolled before him. After gazing long and steadily upon it he said, "Henceforth we may close that map for half a century." On the 23 January 1806 he passed away at the age of forty-seven, exclaiming with his dying breath, "Alas, my country!" The Coalition, already dismembered, had lost its soul.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

1806

JENA AND AUERSTÄDT

Family Alliances — Joseph, King of Naples — The Italian Titular Fiefs — Louis, King of Holland — The Question of Hanover — Peace Overtures — Confederation of the Rhine — End of the Holy Roman Empire — Napoleon's Desire for Peace — Queen Louisa — Duplicity of Prussia — Her Ultimatum to Napoleon — Strength of the Two Combatants — The Seat of War — Advance of the Prussian Army — Movements of the French — The Battle-fields of Jena and Auerstädt — The Prussians Defeated at Both Places — Dispersion of Their Army — Napoleon Enters Berlin in Triumph

FROM the tactical point of view Austerlitz was Napoleon's greatest battle. He was still to gain many other victories, but none so brilliant or so decisive. Up to this time, Fortune had always smiled upon him. The hour had not yet come when he was to make too great demands upon her favors. Fourteen months later, amidst the blood and snow of the cemetery, on the frozen plain of Eylau, he was to have something like a gloomy vision of the future, a prophetic perspective of the Russian disaster, the first warning of an outraged Providence. He was then to remark, "This scene is enough to inspire in princes the love of peace and the hatred of war." But no such thoughts came to his mind at Austerlitz. War then appeared to him only on its brilliant side.

On the third and fourth of December, Napoleon sent Joséphine letters giving a full description of the extent of his victory. Peace with Austria had been agreed upon, and the Russians were going home. "The battle of Austerlitz is the finest of all that I have fought: forty-five flags, more than one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, the standards of the Russian Guard, more than twenty thousand killed — a horrible sight."

MARSHAL DAVOUT

From Austerlitz, Napoleon went on the fifth to Vienna. The middle of November he had written Joséphine at Strasbourg instructing her to proceed to Munich, where he now went to join her. In the Bavarian capital he was surrounded by all the princes of the South German states.

The Margrave of Baden was then seventy-seven years of age. He had lost his son, and his heir was his grandson Charles, then twenty years of age. The mother of this young prince was very much opposed to the French in her sympathies, and one of his sisters had married the Czar, who was still at war with Napoleon. Another sister had married the Elector of Bavaria, and he himself was the fiancé of the young Princess Augusta, the elector's daughter by a previous marriage. These family arrangements, however, did not meet the approval of Napoleon, who had other plans in view.

The Empress arrived at Munich the fifth of December, and a few days later the rumor was circulated that her son Eugène was to marry the Princess Augusta.

Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria, was then fifty years old. He had lost his first wife, by whom he had one daughter, Augusta, born in 1788. He had then married Caroline, the sister of Prince Charles of Baden, to whom Augusta was betrothed. The Elector was entirely French in his sympathies. Belonging to the cadet branch of the family he had only become elector by the extinction of the reigning branch. He had no fortune as a youth, and under Louis the Sixteenth he had served in the French army and commanded the Regiment of Alsace. The happiest days of his life had been passed in France.

The Treaty of Presburg gave to Baden, Bavaria and Würtemburg very considerable increases of territory, and to the two electors the title of king. Napoleon had decided that these aggrandizements should be paid for by three marriages: that of his step-son Prince Eugène with Augusta, the daughter of the King of Bavaria; that of Prince Charles of Baden with Joséphine's cousin by mar-

riage, Stéphanie de Beauharnais; and that of his brother Jérôme with the Princess Catherine, daughter of the King of Würtemburg.

On New Year's eve, Napoleon entered Munich under a triumphal arch erected in his honor. Four days later he wrote Eugène to start at once for Munich and to travel incognito as rapidly as possible. Napoleon was desirous of returning at once to Paris where his presence was necessary, but he remained at Munich to overcome the objections of the Queen to the marriage. In all justice to Napoleon it must be said that he endeavored to gain his ends only by pleasant means. He exercised all of his powers of seduction, and was so attentive to the Queen that he even aroused the jealousy of Joséphine.

Eugène arrived at Munich on the tenth of January. The Viceroy of Italy was then twenty-four years of age. Without being handsome, he had a perfect figure. Like his father, he danced well, and excelled in all kinds of physical exercises. He was frank and simple in his manners and affable with everybody. He had a very gay disposition and was always happy. Napoleon was very fond of him and treated him like a son.

Eugène showed much tact in his relations with his future wife, and courted her as assiduously as if their marriage was not already arranged. The fears of the young princess soon gave place to joy, and what was to have been a *mariage de raison* became a real *mariage d'amour*.

The wedding took place on the 14 January 1806 in the royal chapel and was celebrated with great pomp. Napoleon formally adopted Eugène, and in the marriage contract gave him the name of "Napoléon-Eugène de France." In the future he always addressed him in his letters as "Mon fils." The Princess Augusta proved to be a model wife and mother and the marriage was a very happy one. After the downfall of the Empire she resisted all the efforts of her family to have her abandon her husband and remained faithful to the end.

A week after the wedding Eugène and his wife left for Milan, while the Emperor and Empress started for Paris, arriving at the Tuileries the night of the 26 January.

On the first of January 1806 the republican calendar came to an end after thirteen years, three months and ten days. So the last vestige of the Republic was effaced, except the inscription "République Française Napoléon Empereur" on the coins.

On the eighth of April 1806 in the chapel of the Tuileries was celebrated with great pomp the marriage of Stéphanie de Beauharnais with Prince Charles of Baden. If anything could prove the power which the victor of Austerlitz then exercised over the Continent it was certainly this marriage of the daughter of a French Senator with a prince belonging to one of the oldest and most illustrious families in Europe, who by his three sisters was the brother-in-law of the Czar of Russia, of the King of Sweden and of the King of Bavaria.

What then was the origin of the young girl whom the Prince had married? The Marquis de Beauharnais, the father of Joséphine's first husband, had a brother Claude, who had a son of the same name, who was the father of Stéphanie, born at Paris the 28 August 1789. After the death of her mother she was confided to the care of an aunt, a *religieuse*, who brought her up. Her maternal uncle had the happy thought of taking her to Paris and presenting her to the wife of the First Consul. Joséphine, who was her aunt "*à la mode de Bretagne*," took an interest in the girl and sent her to the school of Madame Campan. When she come to the Tuileries after finishing her education, Napoleon took a great fancy to her, and a month before her marriage he formally adopted her as his daughter, thus giving her precedence at Court over his own sisters. This second marriage arranged by Napoleon also proved a very happy one. Stéphanie won the affections of her new family and of her subjects, and her death in 1860 during the Second Empire was much regretted both in Baden and at Paris. Her eldest daughter, Louise, became the

mother of the Queen of Saxony; the second, Joséphine, was the mother of the first King of Roumania and of that Prince of Hohenzollern who as candidate for the Spanish throne in 1870 was the indirect cause of the Franco-German war. The youngest daughter, Marie, married the Duke of Hamilton, a great Scotch lord.

The day after the signature of the Treaty of Presburg, Napoleon announced in a military order addressed to the Army that the Bourbon dynasty in Naples had "ceased to reign." Even the Austrian historian, Fournier, says that, "The pretext for this step had, it must be acknowledged, been furnished by the Neapolitan Court itself." During the campaign of Austerlitz, Queen Caroline had deliberately broken her promise given to France in August to remain neutral and had opened the port of Naples to British and Russian troops. After the battle the Czar recalled his troops and the English Government followed his example. Napoleon made no reply to the abject letter of the Queen imploring his clemency and sent his troops to take possession of Naples, whence the royal family had taken flight. On the 30 March 1806, Napoleon announced his intention of making his brother Joseph King of Naples, without forfeiture of his rights to the Imperial succession.

At the same time, in another decree, the Emperor announced the formation of twenty titular duchies in the newly-acquired Italian territory, one fifteenth of the revenue from these lands, amounting to from sixty to one hundred thousand francs a year in each case, to serve as an endowment. The new duchies were conferred upon the marshals and other dignitaries of the Empire. Following is a partial list of the dukes as later appointed: Dalmatia (Soult), Istria (Bessières), Friuli (Duroc), Belluno (Victor), Treviso (Mortier), Bassano (Maret), Vicenza (Caulaincourt), Rovigo (Savary), Otranto (Fouché), Taranto (Macdonald), and Reggio (Oudinot).

Among the other titles conferred by the Emperor at this time or later were: Murat, Grand Duc de Berg et de

Clèves; Talleyrand, Prince de Bénévent; Berthier, Prince de Neufchâtel, and Bernadotte, Prince de Ponte-Corvo.

Napoleon next turned his attention to Holland. This country had been conquered by the republican armies and had been brought entirely under French influences. The Batavian Republic had been established with a sort of consular government having a Grand Pensionary at its head. Soon after the establishment of the Empire there was a rumor at The Hague that Napoleon intended to set up a monarchy again in the Low Countries. Early in 1806 a deputation of Dutch notables with Admiral Verhuel at their head was sent to Paris to avert the threatened danger. In a letter to Talleyrand, 14 March 1806, the Emperor stated his intention of reëstablishing the monarchy with his brother Louis as King. The opposition of the Dutch delegation was swept away, and on the fifth of June 1806 at the Tuileries Napoleon announced the establishment of the new monarchy under King Louis.

The primary cause of the breach between France and Prussia in 1806 was the question of Hanover. This electorate since 1714 had been under the sovereignty of Great Britain. In that year the Elector George Louis became George the First, King of Great Britain and Ireland, through inheritance from his mother who was the granddaughter of James the First of England.

The first two Georges preferred Hanover to England as a place of residence, and George the Third was the first Hanoverian King who was English in his sympathies.

In 1803, when war was renewed between England and France, Napoleon sent an army under Mortier to occupy Hanover. Prussia had long been anxious to possess the electorate in order to round out her lands which were much separated by intervening territory, and Napoleon used Hanover as a bait to keep Prussia neutral during the campaign of 1805. The Allies at the same time were endeavoring to obtain the support of Prussia, and the Czar Alexander visited Berlin for this purpose when he

was on his way to join his army in Moravia. Queen Louisa at this time conceived the idea of uniting the two sovereigns by a solemn oath, and at midnight on the fourth of November 1805 Alexander and Frederick William went to the Garrison Church at Potsdam where over the tomb of Frederick the Great they bound themselves to support the allied cause.

Prussia, however, was not then ready for war and demanded until the middle of December to complete her preparations. Before that date arrived the battle of Austerlitz was fought and Austria sued for peace. Under the changed conditions Napoleon was no longer willing to allow Prussia to maintain even a neutral position, and demanded an alliance with France. This compact was signed at Vienna the 15 December 1805.

At the same time England was also endeavoring to obtain the support of Prussia and Frederick William was placed in an embarrassing position. He had to choose between the half of Belgium, and the Rhineland, as offered by England, and Hanover as a gift from Napoleon.

On the third of January 1806 an important State Council was held at Berlin at which it was decided to demand of Napoleon some important modifications to the Schönbrunn Treaty. Prussia was endeavoring in short to steer halfway between France and England — and gain Hanover. The Prussian Government was so sure of Napoleon's acceptance of the proposed changes that it was decided to put the army at once on a peace-footing. The Emperor, however, took the ground that as Prussia had not formally ratified the treaty as drawn, it was null and void. Having thoroughly frightened the Prussian envoy, Napoleon came at once to the point he wished to gain and demanded that the North Sea ports of Germany should be closed to English commerce. This agreed to, Hanover was handed over to Prussia. It was indeed a Greek gift! The acceptance of Hanover on those terms meant the disapproval of Russia and the hostility of England.

In the spring of 1806 overtures of peace were exchanged between Paris, London and Saint Petersburg, and there seemed some hope that after fourteen years of almost continual war Europe might find some repose. Even the English historians reluctantly admit that Napoleon seems to have wanted peace, for the consolidation of his power in Europe and the extension of his colonies and commerce. Austria was still dazed from the effects of the blow she had received at Austerlitz and even the Czar was no longer in a warlike mood. The new English ministry was strongly inclined towards peace. Holland, South Germany and Italy were under the control of Napoleon. The other Powers were either helpless or inert.

Fox, who had always been favorable to a good understanding with France, was assured by Talleyrand of the pacific desires of the French Emperor; France desired not a truce but a permanent peace. When informed that George the Third above all things would require the restoration of Hanover, Talleyrand after consulting the Emperor declared that that should not stand in the way.

While these negotiations were going on, the 12 July 1806 was signed the Act of the Confederation of the Rhine, that ended the old Germanic Empire. After a thousand years of existence was sounded the death-knell of an Empire which Voltaire with equal wit and truth had described as neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire. The Emperor, Francis the Second, made no protest, and assumed the title of Francis the First of Austria.

"Thus," says Rose, "feebly flickered out the light which had shed splendour on medieval Christendom. Kindled in the basilica of Saint Peter's on Christmas day of the year 800 in an almost mystical union of spiritual and earthly power, by the blessing of Pope Leo on Karl the Great, it was now trodden under foot by the chief of a more than Frankish State, who aspired to unquestioned sway over a dominion as great as that of the medieval

hero. For Napoleon, as Protector of the Rhenish Confederation, now controlled most of the German lands that acknowledged Charlemagne, while his hold on Italy was immeasurably stronger."

The old German laws were soon replaced by the Code Napoléon, and a close offensive and defensive alliance was formed between Napoleon and the sixteen Princes of the new Confederation who agreed to furnish 63,000 troops at the demand of the new Protector. The principal states included in the Confederation were Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt and Nassau.

At the same time a number of free cities, as well as of Imperial Counts and Knights, were wiped out. Augsburg and Nuremberg were given to the King of Bavaria, and Frankfort was bestowed on Dalberg, the Prince Primate of the Confederation. It will thus be seen that the first steps toward German unity, which Bismarck was to carry to a conclusion two generations later, were taken by the new Charlemagne.

The correspondence of Napoleon at this time proves that he was more preoccupied with the affairs of Italy than with those of Germany. For one letter that he wrote about Hanover, he sent twenty to Joseph or Eugène impressing upon them the necessity of keeping a firm hand, and above all of conquering Sicily. But if Sicily was a stumbling-block in the negotiations with England, Hanover was the cause of the war with Prussia. Queen Louisa constantly urged her weak and vacillating husband to resist the continued French aggrandizements in Germany and to ally himself with Russia.

Louisa at that time was thirty years of age. The daughter of one of the minor German princes, her youth had been spent in poverty and obscurity until her charms captured the heart of the Crown Prince of Prussia. A comparison has often been drawn between Louisa and Marie-Antoinette. Both were mated with cold and uninteresting consorts. Frederick William, like Louis, could only inspire the respect due to an insignificant but well-

meaning man, while all the fervor of loyalty was aroused by his queen. Louisa however was more staid and homely than the vivacious daughter of Maria Theresa and did not interfere much in state affairs until after the crash came. Then she became the inspiration which kindled the fires of German patriotism.

At the instigation of the Queen, on the eighth of August, Frederick William sent a letter to the Czar imploring his assistance. Alexander wrote a cheering response, promising his help. Thinking to take Napoleon off his guard, Prussia at once began her preparations for war. Napoleon however was not deceived, and he adopted towards Frederick William the tone of a friend who is grieved by an unexpected quarrel. He stated that he intended to propose some equivalent for Hanover if England insisted on its restitution as a *sine qua non* of peace. "But," he added, "if your young officers and your women at Berlin want war, I am preparing to satisfy them. Yet my ambition turns wholly to Italy. She is a mistress whose favors I will share with no one. On North Germany I have no claims."

The whole tenor of Napoleon's correspondence shows that before the first week in September he did not expect a new Coalition. As Rose admits: "It is perfectly true that he did not make war on Prussia in 1806 any more than on England in 1803. He only made peace impossible." This final statement is simply begging the question. One might as well say that Serbia in 1914 "made peace impossible" when she failed to yield to the unreasonable demands of Austria. The condition on which Prussia urgently insisted was the entire evacuation of Germany by French troops, which Napoleon refused until Prussia demobilized her army.

In the meantime Russia was awaiting the arrival of a Prussian officer at Saint Petersburg to concert a plan of campaign. When he came, he had no plan, and the Czar refused to march his troops into Prussia. Austria also refused to move until the Allies had gained a victory. So

at the outbreak of the war, Prussia could only count on the feeble support of Saxony and Weimar.

The Prussian war-party had now gained complete control, and an ultimatum was sent Napoleon on the 26 September demanding that he should immediately evacuate Germany and should send an answer before the eighth of October. No more short-sighted act can well be conceived than this throwing down the gauntlet to Napoleon who had 180,000 veterans already in Germany, while Prussia's ally the Czar could not get his troops on the field of operations for months to come.

Napoleon at this time had a population of nearly sixty millions from which to draw troops, and during the Jena campaign he had 80,000 men in training in France in addition to the Grand Army of 200,000 men in Germany. As Napoleon himself stood like a giant among all the captains of his age, so also the Grand Army was in a class by itself. The world had never before known so superb a fighting organization.

Prussia, including its ally Saxony, had a population of some twelve millions from which to draw its army. The country was not rich, and the government was hopelessly out of date. Nothing had been changed since the days of Frederick, but the inspiring soul of the Great King was no longer there. At the beginning of hostilities the Prussian army, including the Saxon contingent, did not much exceed 150,000 men ready for duty. The army was also poorly armed and equipped. Like the French army at the outbreak of the Franco-German war, it was living on the traditions of the past and believed itself to be the first army in the world, but with no solid basis for its confidence. The commanders were not deficient in ability but were lacking in experience. As Dodge pithily sums up the situation: "The French army believed itself to be superior and was actually so; the Prussian army believed itself to be superior and was not."

After the Peace of Presburg the Grand Army had not returned home, but on one pretext or another had been

kept in South Germany. In August 1806 the army lay mostly in Bavaria, and was under the command of Berthier whose headquarters were at Munich. As a further proof that Napoleon at the beginning of September was not expecting war, there may be cited his letter of the fourth to Berthier authorizing him to give leaves of absence to a number of officers, and to take one himself.

A few days later the situation became more menacing. On the tenth the Emperor wrote Berthier from Paris that his horses were starting the next day, and that the Guard was soon to follow. This body of 13,000 picked men, under the command of Bessières, was transported from Paris to Mayence by post in seven hundred four-horse wagons and covered the distance of 260 miles in eight days.

From Mayence northeast through Erfurt and Weimar to Berlin ran the most important road in Germany. Midway between Weimar and the capital it crossed at right angles the Elbe which was defended by several large fortresses. This road formed the direct route from Paris to Berlin and was to figure conspicuously in the campaign now about to open.

The Prussian army after passing the Elbe advanced slowly in a great semicircle stretching out on either side of the Mayence road. On the fifth of October the headquarters were at Erfurt and the army was extended on a front of ninety miles from Cassel to Rudolstadt south of Jena, watching the Thuringian forest from which the French were expected to debouch.

In the meantime Napoleon was preparing to concentrate his corps at Bamberg and Baireuth and swing around the left flank of the Prussian army, cutting it off from its base on the Elbe, just as he had turned Mack's right the previous year and cut him off from the Inn. On the fifth the front of the French army, covering not more than thirty-five miles, was between Coburg and Hof.

Pressing on by long marches, a week later the French left was in contact with the extreme left of the Prussians

at Saalfeld a little south of Jena, while the French centre and right was getting into a line roughly indicated by Jena and Naumburg. The Grand Army was moving in three columns: Soult and Ney on the right; Bernadotte and Davout with the Guard in the centre, and Lannes and Augereau at the left. The first column was fifty thousand strong, the second, seventy, and the third, forty.

When the Prussian commander, the Duke of Brunswick, learned that the French had turned his left flank and were rapidly advancing on his line of communications, he issued orders for a general movement eastward in the hope of being able to retreat towards the Elbe by way of Jena and Naumburg; but he was a few hours too late and was obliged to fight with the enemy on his line of communications.

On the thirteenth the Emperor received a dispatch from Lannes stating that he had found the Prussians in force at Jena and was hourly expecting an attack. Napoleon immediately started for that place. On his arrival he found that the enemy had withdrawn from the town, and that Lannes had taken possession of it, and had also occupied the steep heights of the Landgräfenberg lying beyond it. At four o'clock Napoleon rode up on this plateau which dominates the entire country to the west. Dismounting he walked to the edge of the plateau and studied the enemy's position. He thought that he had the main Prussian army before him although he could only see forty or fifty thousand troops. He ordered Lannes to place his entire corps on the heights; and the Guard and Soult, as well as Ney and Augereau, were instructed to march on Jena with all possible speed. Meanwhile Davout and Bernadotte had reached Naumburg and Murat with the cavalry was in that vicinity.

The field on which was fought the double battle of Jena and Auerstädt lies within a theatre about fourteen miles north and south by eighteen miles east and west. At the southwest corner lies the beautiful city of Weimar. Ten miles to the east, between the steep and rugged plateau

Kösnitz
Apolda
Stubra
Nerkwitz
Stollendorf
Spoll
River Saale
Dornberg
Closwitz
Lützeroda
Hausdorf
Lützeroda
Hainas
Kospoda
Landgrafen Berg
NAPOLEON
Imperial Guard
Wenigen Jena
Lützeroda
Mühl Thal
JENA
Lützeroda
Saale
Lobeda
Ammerbach
To Dornburg
To Leipsic & Halle
Ltt. Romstedt
Zwölf Heiligen
Tauroggen
Gr. Romstedt
Sperlings Berg
Isserstadt
Isserstadt
HOHENLOHE
Closwitz
Hammerstedt
Schwabenhausen
Lützeroda
Dobbrüschen
To Naumburg by Kahla
Cavalry
Infantry
Artillery
Positions on the night of the 13th coloured light

of the Landgräfenberg and the Saale is situated the old university town of Jena. The river Saale runs in a north-easterly direction from Jena to Naumburg, five miles to the west of which is located the battle-field of Auerstädt. Excellent roads lead from Weimar to Jena and from both places to Naumburg. The country is much cut up by hill and dale, but there are few woods and the ground is suitable for all arms. To debouch from Jena towards Weimar however is not easy, owing to the hills and ravines, and the possession of the dominating plateau is very essential. On the south the heights sink away into a valley, the Mühl Thal, through which runs the Weimar road.

The Prussian commander, Hohenlohe, thinking the Mühl Thal was the only feasible line of approach, posted most of his forces there, leaving the plateau free. Under cover of the darkness, Napoleon not only crowded all of Lannes' corps on the heights, but also had dragged up whole batteries of artillery. The task was tremendous and would not have been accomplished without the inspiration of the presence of the Emperor and his practical skill. While his officers were asleep, he personally directed the work. By such untiring energy did he assure victory. Jena was won by the rapid concentration of his troops and the seizing of a commanding position almost under the eyes of an unsuspecting enemy. During the night the corps of Soult and Ney came up and went into line on the right while Augereau on his arrival was posted in the valley on the left.

A dense fog early in the morning screened the positions of the troops, but by ten o'clock the fog lifted and revealed to the astonished eyes of the Prussians the whole French army in line of battle. The attack was begun by Lannes in the centre and was followed by the advance of Soult and Augereau on either wing. When the attack had fully developed, the Emperor launched the Guard and Murat's cavalry on the lines of the wavering Prussians. The impact was irresistible and Hohenlohe's force was swept away.

At the crisis of the battle, after the arrival of reinforcements under Rüchel, the Prussians had only 47,000 men on the field while Napoleon then had 83,000 troops at his disposal.

At the same time, at Auerstädt about ten miles to the north, Davout with his single corps of 27,000 men was facing the main Prussian army composed of 55,000 of their choicest troops. The King and Brunswick were marching on Naumburg in order to gain the main road to Berlin and make sure their line of retreat to the Elbe, when their advance cavalry under Blücher saw a solid line of French infantry loom through the morning mist. It was part of the corps of Davout strongly posted in and around the village of Hassenhausen midway between Naumburg and Auerstädt. Blücher at once charged but was repulsed with heavy loss. Again and again Brunswick sent his troops to the attack, but the steady fire of the French infantry laid him low with most of his officers. The Prussians, according to tradition, advanced in solid masses, while the French fought in skirmish lines, and fired at will from behind hedges and walls, trees and rocks, and out of ditches and sunken roads. This fire was murderous, and the gallant Prussian officers were picked off one by one. Failing to make any headway, the Prussians began to fall back in disorder. Davout now pressed the attack and nothing could resist the French ardor. The King gave the order to retreat on Weimar where he hoped to rejoin his right wing and renew the battle on the morrow. But instead of an army it was a terrified mob flying before Murat's cavalry that he met halfway between Auerstädt and Weimar. The French victory was complete, and no praise is too high for Davout's intelligence and courage.

Bernadotte was very seriously criticized by the Emperor for his conduct on the day of the two battles. At ten o'clock on the evening of the thirteenth, Napoleon, in the belief that the entire Prussian army was before him, had sent an order to Davout to advance to Apolda, to the

north of Jena, and take the enemy on the left flank or in the rear. He added: "If Marshal Bernadotte is with you, you can march together, but the Emperor hopes that he will be in the position indicated to him at Dornburg." This order was received by Davout about three o'clock in the morning. Convinced from his reconnoissance that he had a very large Prussian force in front of him, Davout strongly urged Bernadotte to remain, even going so far as to offer him the command of the two corps. But he persisted in obeying the letter rather than the spirit of the Emperor's order and started for Dornburg. Finding much difficulty in crossing the Saale he did not reach Apolda until nightfall and so took no part in either battle. He had no doubt literally obeyed orders, but as Dodge justly remarks, "A corps commander is held to more than this."

The pursuit of the defeated army by Murat was the most extraordinary in history. In three weeks he all but literally galloped from Jena to Lübeck on the Baltic Sea. With a large force of cavalry, together with the corps of Lannes, Soult and Bernadotte, he swept up all the remnants of the Prussian army, and captured all of the fortresses as he passed. On the seventh of November he stormed Lübeck and forced Blücher, the last to hold out, to surrender with 20,000 men.

This short campaign is without parallel even in Napoleon's marvellous career. In seven weeks he practically extended the French frontier from the Rhine to the Vistula. A hundred thousand prisoners, four thousand guns, and other trophies without number, were the fruits of one able strategic manœuvre.

Napoleon reached Potsdam on Saturday the 25 October 1806, eleven days after the battle of Jena, and took up his quarters in the palace of Sans Souci, the Versailles of Frederick the Great. On Sunday he visited the Garrison Church, where in a vault under the severely plain Lutheran pulpit is the marble sarcophagus which contains the ashes of the King. He ordered sent to the Hôtel des Invalides at

Paris the sword and hat and sash of the great warrior which lay upon his tomb.

Departing now for the first time from his usual practice, the Emperor arranged to enter Berlin in triumph on Monday. Let us try to picture this scene, worthy of the painter's brush.

At the further end of Unter den Linden, away from the Royal Palace, that famous avenue broadens out into the Pariser Platz. Thence one can gaze through the stately Brandenburger Thor and view the Thiergarten with its green alleys and its glints of snowy marble.

The wide avenue is lined with thousands of spectators. While the assembled crowd awaits with intense expectancy, from the direction of Charlottenburg there comes a faint murmur like the far-away sound of surf upon the shore. It grows and swells, and then it deepens into a sort of muffled thunder pierced by the roll of distant drums. Soon can be seen the glint of sun on steel. Now rings out the clear call of the bugles, and down one of the broad allées come the Mamelukes on their superb horses and draw rein beside the Brandenburger Thor. Then follows a great flood of splendid cavalry, squadron upon squadron of the cuirassiers of the Imperial Guard, wearing the steel helmets with brass crests and flowing horsehair. On they ride, not with the stolid surly mien of the Prussians, but swinging lightly in their saddles, their faces aglow with that ardor which belongs to the most martial nation in the world.

Far as the eye can reach follow regiments of the sturdy infantry of the Guard, with their high bear-skin caps, filling the whole vast area of the Thiergarten.

Riding a hundred paces ahead is the Emperor, on a small white Arabian horse. He wears a plain gray redingote and the well-known hat with a black cord, without any ornament save the little cockade. His unbuttoned overcoat enables one to see the uniform of the Chasseurs de la Garde with its green coat upon which glisten the star and the plaque of the Légion d'honneur. The waistcoat and

MAP OF
PRUSSIA & POLAND
to Illustrate the
CAMPAIGNS OF 1806 ETC.
EXPLANATION
TOWNS of upwards of 50000 inhabitants
Towns of 30_50 000 inhabitants
Towns of 10_30.000 inhabitants
Places below 10.000 inhabitants
Scale of English Miles
BALTIC SEA
Oland
Carlscrona
Bornholm
Memel
Tilsit
Labiau
KONIGSBERG
Pillau
Lauenburg
Neustahrwasser
Hagelsberg
DANTZIC
Braunsberg
Elbing
Marienburg
Marienwerder
Neuenburg
Graudenz
Deutsch Eylau
Preuss Eylau
Soldau
Neidenburg
Allenstein
Hohenstein
Osterode
Liebstadt
Mohrungen
Freistadt
Pr Holland
Wormditt
Heilsberg
Guttstadt
Bischofstein
Lowenton
Arys
Bialla
Johannisberg
Plock
Ostrolenka
Mlawa
Przasnycz
Golymin
Lochocyna
Plonsko
Nasielsk
Pultusk
Makow
Ostrow
Siedlce
Modlin
Ciarnove
Praga
Wyszogrod
Razym
Kulmg
WARSAW
Lowicz
Sochaczew
Grodno
Bialystock
Brzesc
Biala
Maccowicze
Ostrowick
Siemiatycze
Lomza
Lapenaty
Sokolka
Kovno
Vilna
Sceleshuki
Sewalka
Thorn
Bromberg
Stettin
Custrin
Frankfort
Posen
Kalisch
Kolo
Konin
Sirem
Hohensalza
Inowrazlaw
Gnesen
Lissa
Rawicz
Glogau
Crotoszyn
Sprottau
Trachenberg
Wohlau
BRESLAU
Liegnitz
Schweidnitz
Landshut
Frankenstein
Neisse
Oppeln
Kosel
Ogrodzieniec
Olkusz
Chelm
Cracow
Biala
Ujlau
Brunn
Carpathian Mts
Petrikow or Petrikau
Lublin
Radom
Kielce
Sandomir
Janow
Zamosc
LEMBURG
GALICIA
RUSSIA
POLAND
SILESIA
POMERANIA
WEST PRUSSIA
Longitude East 18 from Greenwich

breeches are white and he wears soft riding boots. The saddle-cloth is edged with rich bullion fringe and the bit and bridle buckles as well as the stirrups are gold-plated.

Just behind the Emperor come three of his marshals, with their waving plumes, and their uniforms covered with gold. In the centre is the martial figure of Berthier, the trusted chief of staff. At his right is Davout, the hero of Auerstädt, with his round and placid face. At the left is the tall and handsome Augereau, who has won new laurels at Jena.

Then at the head of the aides de camp, and followed by the brilliant staff, comes Duroc, the Marshal of the Palace, whose face is well known in Berlin, where twice he has been sent on a special mission by his master.

As the Emperor nears the Thor the glorious tricolor is unfurled, surmounted by the Napoleonic eagles; and as the music swells into a tempest of martial melody rolling up the Linden and flooding it with a glorious sea of sound, ten thousand sabres flash in air and ten thousand strident voices cry, "Vive l'Empereur!"

All eyes are focussed, not on the marshals and the brilliant staff, but on the figure of the chief in his plain uniform. He is no longer the slim and sallow youth of the Campaign of Italy. Amidst toils that would have worn most men to a shadow, he has grown to the roundness of robust health, "the face no longer thin with the unsatisfied longings of youth, but square and full with toil requited and ambition well-nigh sated — a visage redeemed from the coarseness of the epicure's only by the knitted brows that bespoke ceaseless thought, and by the keen, melancholy, unfathomable eyes."

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

1807

THE CAMPAIGN IN POLAND

The Berlin Decree — Hesse-Cassel and Saxony — Negotiations for Peace — The Polish Question — The Theatre of War — Advance towards the East — Battle of Pultusk — Madame Walewska — Bennigsen's Movement — Napoleon's Countermarch — Battle of Eylau — Winter Quarters — Negotiations with Prussia and Austria — Resumption of Hostilities — Battle of Friedland — Treaty of Tilsit — Death of Napoleon Charles — Birth of Louis Napoleon — Grandeur of the Empire — Marriage of King Jérôme — The Court at Fontainebleau

A MONTH after his arrival at Potsdam, on the 21 November 1806, Napoleon issued the famous Berlin Decree which proclaimed war on British commerce. Great Britain was declared to be in a state of blockade; all commerce with her was forbidden, her goods were to be seized and her subjects imprisoned wherever found by French or allied troops.

This idea of strangling English commerce was not original with Napoleon: it was a pet scheme of the Jacobins, a part of the political stock-in-trade of the Revolution.

The Berlin Decree has always been bitterly attacked by English historians, but it is now so much a matter of ancient history that it is hardly worth while to give any space to the controversy. The only question to be considered here is the underlying motive which influenced Napoleon, and this is a very difficult matter to determine. But there is no doubt as to the fatal effect upon his career of the enterprises to which this act led — the occupation of Spain and the Russian Campaign, both of which adventures were prompted less by ambition than by the feeling that they were necessary to the complete triumph of his Continental System. As Rose well says, this question of

the underlying motive must at times cause every open-minded student of Napoleon's career to pause in utter doubt.

While at Berlin Napoleon took other steps to cement his power. He deposed the Elector of Hesse-Cassel and sent his troops to occupy the Electorate, which was subsequently incorporated in Jérôme's Kingdom of Westphalia. Towards Saxony he acted with great clemency. The Elector, in December, entered the Confederation of the Rhine, with the title of King, and became an ally of the Emperor.

On the day after the battle of Jena Frederick William sent an aide de camp to Napoleon to treat for peace, but the Emperor refused to consider the matter until he reached Berlin. Here he received the Prussian envoy who had full powers to sign preliminaries of peace. But the conditions were so severe that the King refused to ratify the agreement when presented to him. Napoleon at first demanded all territory to the south of the Elbe up to Magdeburg, and a war-indemnity of a hundred million francs. Later he increased his demands, and would only grant a suspension of hostilities, and even that under most oppressive conditions: the French to occupy the whole country up to the Bug River; eight fortresses, including Dantzic, to be surrendered; and the Russians to be ordered out of East Prussia

In order to weaken Russia, Napoleon now encouraged the Poles in their hopes for independence. To a Polish deputation which appeared at Berlin in November he stated that France had never acknowledged the partition of their country and that he would feel a deep interest in seeing the national sovereignty reëstablished.

A week later he went in person to Posen to further stimulate the insurrection against the Czar. A feature of the situation very embarrassing to his plans was that Austria had participated with Prussia and Russia in the

partition of Poland, and he could not at that time afford to add that Power to the list of his foes. He accordingly suggested to the Austrian Government an exchange of her Polish provinces for Silesia which had been stolen from Maria Theresa by Frederick the Great. But Austria did not care to become involved in trouble with either of the belligerents and declined the proposition.

It is doubtful if Napoleon ever seriously thought of restoring the Kingdom of Poland, no matter how strong his sympathies may have been with that oppressed people. It meant to take vast territories away from Austria, Prussia and Russia, and incur the lasting enmity of those great Powers, as against which the gratitude of Poland would count but little.

The theatre of the Campaign of Poland, which now began, lies between the rivers Vistula and Niemen. The country for the most part is flat, marshy, and thickly wooded. In the field of the military operations of 1807 there were a number of lakes and many marshes. The Vistula, even at Warsaw, is a large stream several hundred yards wide. Below the city the river flows between low, marshy banks. About twenty miles below Warsaw, the Bug joins the Vistula. Both rivers are military obstacles of importance, fordable only in seasons of drought. In this area there were only dirt roads, firm enough for artillery during the heat of summer or the frosts of winter, but almost impassable when soaked with rain or dissolved by thaws. During the mild weather of December 1806 the infantry sank in the slush up to their knees, the guns to their axles.

In the southern part of the theatre of war, occupied by the Poles, the country was sparsely populated and there were no large towns. Farther north, in the German-speaking territory, were found many villages, and there was a general air of prosperity.

The climate was very trying, almost arctic in its severity in winter, and very hot in summer. In connection with

military operations during the campaign, the *terrain* was of less importance than the climatic conditions.

Within the theatre of operations at the opening of the campaign, there were still two important fortresses in the possession of Prussia: Dantzic on the left bank of the Vistula near its mouth, a place of great strength, and Königsberg, at the mouth of the Pregel, the capital of old Prussia, a poorly fortified city, but an immense dépôt of stores of all sorts.

After the pursuit succeeding Jena, Frederick William was compelled to retire behind the Vistula with the few troops he had left. His only remaining field army comprised less than 20,000 men, but he had some additional troops in garrison at Dantzic and in other fortresses. The King himself took refuge at Königsberg, where he awaited a large Russian army which was marching to his aid.

After the Peace of Presburg the Czar had still remained at war with France, and he was now the ally of Prussia. Napoleon at this time made peace overtures, but the Czar declined to consider them.

For the moment Napoleon knew nothing about the movements of the Russian army or its strength. At the end of the first week in November, however, news came that Bennigsen was advancing with 56,000 men and would reach Thorn on the Vistula, midway between Warsaw and Dantzic, by the middle of November.

Napoleon at once gave orders for the concentration near Posen by the 18 November, under the command of Murat, of the corps of Davout, Augereau, Lannes and Jérôme, the Guard and part of the cavalry, about 80,000 men in all. Davout on reaching Posen however found no signs of the Russians and continued his march on Warsaw.

Under Napoleon's directions the French army continued to advance, Ney and Bernadotte forming the left wing, Soult and Augereau, the centre, and Davout and Lannes, the right.

The early winter of 1806 was unusually warm. It did

not freeze, and the roads were in bad condition. Napoleon also found much trouble in supplying his army. He was not now in the valley of the Po or the Danube and his men could not live off the country.

Napoleon in person reached Warsaw on the 19 December and found that Bennigsen was at Pultusk, about thirty miles to the north. He immediately headed his corps in that direction, and himself reached the front on the morning of the 23 December. He now adopted a plan of operations which is very puzzling to the student of his earlier campaigns. Instead of concentrating his forces in the way that had always won him success, he worked on exterior lines, and failed to strike the enemy a solid blow or beat him in detail. He was successful however in interposing the corps of Ney and Bernadotte between the Allies, and compelled the Prussians to retreat away from the Russian right towards Königsberg, but his reliance on Soult and Ney to come up in time to be of use proved vain. The bottomless roads were too great an obstacle.

The battle of Pultusk fought on the 26 December proved indecisive. The French, who were inferior in numbers, could make little progress against the stubborn resistance of the Russians. The short day, which would end at four o'clock, was made even shorter by the premature darkness due to the stormy cloudy weather.

During the night the Russians decided to retreat. Lannes who had fought all day against double his numbers was in no state to pursue. Both sides laid claims to this well-contested battle. What ground Lannes gained, he lost again. Bennigsen, though he had repulsed the attack of a very inferior force, had not been able or had not dared to pursue it. But the French remained masters of the field, and could therefore claim the victory with better grace. With this battle the campaign practically ended and both armies went into winter quarters.

The question has often been asked, "What importance did Napoleon attach to love affairs during his career?"

We read in one of the mémoires of the time: "The Emperor was very fond of women, but never allowed them to obtain any influence over his mind. He looked upon love as a diversion, and in this respect he could not have been more material, for the object of his affections of yesterday was as nothing to him on the morrow."

Practically all of the information available on this subject has been brought together by Frédéric Masson in his work, "Napoléon et les Femmes," and he mentions only about half a dozen liaisons, all of which with one exception were of very brief duration. There was Mme. Fourès in Egypt, and Grassini at Milan before Marengo; and there were also Mlle. Georges and Mlle. Dénuelle at Paris. In fact, Napoleon never at any time or in any place allowed women to interfere with affairs of war or state, and in this respect he set an excellent example to his marshals and ministers. He himself drew attention to Murat's conduct and pointed out how he had committed many faults during his campaigns owing to the fact that he liked to have his headquarters every evening in a château where there was a pretty woman. This abstinence on the part of Napoleon is all the more remarkable when we remember his age at the height of his career and the constant temptation to which he was subjected. All the women of Europe were on their knees before the greatest man of his age.

The only serious love affair of Napoleon was that with Mme. Walewska, which began during the campaign in Poland and only ended with his departure for Saint Helena. This was no ordinary *amour:* she was his "Polish wife" — his wife in all but name.

The first day of January 1807, when Napoleon was returning from Pultusk to Warsaw, he stopped a moment at the gate of the little city of Bronie to change horses. Duroc descended from the carriage and pushed his way to the post-house through an enthusiastic crowd which had gathered to see the "liberator of Poland." Here a voice said to him in French, "Monsieur, can you not arrange for me to speak to the Emperor a moment?" The

lady who had addressed him seemed almost a child. She was blond, with large innocent blue eyes; her beautiful face, fresh as a rose, was flushed with excitement; her figure was small, but perfectly proportioned, and very graceful. She was very simply dressed and wore a black hat with a heavy veil.

Duroc conducted her to the door of the carriage, and said to Napoleon, "Here is a lady who has braved all the dangers of the crowd for you." The Emperor took off his hat and began to speak to her, but she did not allow him to finish, and, carried away by her enthusiasm, she wished him a thousand welcomes to her native land, and expressed her pleasure and her gratitude for what he had done to uplift it.

Taking a bouquet which he had in the carriage Napoleon presented it to her, saying: "Gardez-le comme garant de mes bonnes intentions. Nous nous reverrons à Varsovie, je l'espère, et je réclamerai un merci de votre belle bouche."

This young lady was Marie Walewska. Of an old but impoverished Polish family, at the age of sixteen she had married the head of one of the most illustrious families of Poland, a man seventy years of age, who had a grandchild nine years older than herself. Since then two years had passed. All Poland was now agitated over the visit of the Emperor to Warsaw, which might decide the fate of the nation. Walewski, who was as intensely patriotic as his young wife, went there and opened his mansion.

The Emperor was staying at La Blacha, the palace of Prince Poniatowski. After many inquiries Duroc finally succeeded in ascertaining the name of the "belle inconnue" of the post-house of Bronie, and the Prince called one afternoon in person to invite her to a ball to be given at the palace. She refused, and he insisted, but she would not yield. Finally she was persuaded to go at the request of her husband, joined to that of some of the most influential magnates of the country, who said, "Who knows but that Heaven will make use of you to reëstablish our native land?"

Immediately after the ball, Napoleon began to write her daily in terms of warm but respectful admiration and to shower her with presents of all kinds; but she would neither answer his letters nor accept his gifts. Her coldness only increased the ardor of the Emperor who had never yet known defeat in love or war. Finally, yielding to the importunities of all around her — her family, the chief magistrates of Poland, even her husband, all of whom told her that the fate of her country was in her hands, Marie, "whispering, 'I will ne'er consent,' consented."

In the words of Masson: "She was not to be for Napoleon *une maitresse de passage*, but a sort of *épouse à côté* who would not participate it is true either in the dignities of the crown or the splendors of the throne, but who would occupy a special rank, who would be the envoy of her people near to the Emperor, *sa femme polonaise*."

During the time that he passed at Warsaw before the battle of Eylau Napoleon saw her daily. When he transported his headquarters in the spring to Finckenstein, she joined him there. When he returned to France after the Treaty of Tilsit she at first refused to follow him because he had disappointed her hopes for Poland, but she finally yielded to his entreaties.

During the campaign of 1809 she went to Vienna where she lived in a house prepared for her near the palace of Schönbrunn. After the Peace of Vienna she returned to her home in Poland where was born on the 4 May 1810 her son by the Emperor, Alexandre Walewski.

At the end of the same year she returned to Paris where she finally took up her residence at 48, Rue de la Victoire, only a few doors from Napoleon's first home in the city. The Emperor gave his son the title of comte and settled upon him an income of fifty thousand francs. The boy was a great favorite of Joséphine's, who frequently sent for him and his mother to visit her at Malmaison.

In August 1814, she paid a visit to the Emperor on the island of Elba; and as soon as she heard of his return to France she went to Paris and was with him at the

Elysée and at Malmaison up to the moment of his final departure.

But after Napoleon was sent to Saint Helena she felt herself free. Her husband having died two years before, in 1816 at Liège where she was living after the second return of the Bourbons, she married a cousin of the Emperor's, Général Comte d'Ornano, one of the most brilliant officers of the Grand Army.

Marie did not long enjoy her new happiness. She died at her hôtel in the Rue de la Victoire the 15 December the following year at the early age of twenty-eight.

When Napoleon heard at Saint Helena of her marriage he was much affected. She was the one great love of his life, and he always felt for her the deepest attachment. With her death, for him was severed the last tie of earthly affection. Joséphine, the wife of his youth, was gone, and the ignoble Marie-Louise was living in open concubinage with Comte de Neipperg.

The brilliant career of their son Alexandre Walewski under the Second Empire is well known. His life as a soldier, writer, diplomat, and statesman forms part of the history of the nineteenth century.

After the battle of Pultusk orders were issued for the army to go into cantonments, and on the seventh of January the detailed plans for winter quarters were given out. Bernadotte was to guard the lower Vistula and cut the Russians off from Dantzic. Ney was to protect the approaches to Thorn, with his headquarters at that place. The other corps under Soult, Augereau, Davout and Lannes were to protect other strategic points. The Guard and general headquarters were at Warsaw, where the Emperor returned on the first day of January.

In case the enemy should advance during the winter, orders were issued indicating the points at which the seven corps were to rendezvous. Great magazines were erected and abundant supplies procured.

"The curtain thus fell," says Dodge, "on the first

memorable campaign, which should have taught Napoleon more about Russia and its people, about the Czar and his soldiers, than it really did."

After the battle of Pultusk the Russians retired about halfway to Grodno on the Niemen, where the two corps were united under the command of Bennigsen.

Napoleon at once made vigorous efforts to put his army on a sound footing for the reopening of hostilities and soon had 150,000 men at his disposal.

The winter was unusually mild for Poland, and Napoleon hoped the campaign would not open before spring. In this he was doomed to disappointment. Bennigsen had formed the plan of attacking Ney and Bernadotte who were on the lower Vistula, driving them across the river, and seizing Dantzic. He would thus secure better winter quarters in East Prussia, and be in a favorable position at the opening of the next campaign. He had been reinforced and now had about 60,000 men. After meeting with some success in his forward movement, the Russian commander suddenly abandoned his scheme, and decided to fall back and again put his troops into cantonments.

Notwithstanding his reluctance to undertake a winter campaign, this move of the Russians determined Napoleon to begin an offensive operation of his own. Having divined Bennigsen's intention he proposed to move around his rear and drive him into the angle between the Vistula and the sea. Napoleon marched against the enemy with the cavalry under Murat and the four corps of Davout, Augereau, Ney and Soult, about 80,000 men. Bernadotte was to hold the Vistula. Napoleon's plans were well laid, and there was prospect of another Jena.

There now happened one of those unfortunate accidents which sometimes occur in war and upset the ablest calculations. A dispatch from the Emperor to Bernadotte giving him in detail the whole plan of operations, and prescribing his own movements, failed to reach the marshal and fell into the hands of the enemy. The Russian commander was thus on the first of February put in full possession of

the French plans, while Bernadotte remained for several days in complete ignorance of the general operations. The marshal consequently did not move, and Bennigsen made haste to get out of the trap prepared for him. He rapidly drew his troops together at Allenstein, where Napoleon attacked him on the second of February. He immediately fell back, and after a retreat of three days reached Eylau, where the roads to Königsberg and Friedland divide. There he saw that he must make a stand if he was to save his army from complete disorganization. On the seventh the French centre column drove the Russian rearguard into the town, and the French army advanced and took up its position opposite the town. There were in and about the village the corps of Murat, Soult and Augereau, and the Guard, while Ney and Davout were a half a day's march away. The Emperor bivouacked on the hill behind Eylau, uncertain whether the Russians would stand on the morrow or continue their retreat.

The main Russian army of about 80,000 men was drawn up on the plain along the low plateau a thousand yards east and north of Eylau. There were many low hills, and many brooks and ponds, which were frozen over and covered with snow.

The forces were not far from equal, but Davout and Ney had not yet arrived and the Emperor had only 60,000 men at his disposal. Though not superior in force, as he always preferred to be, Napoleon resolved to attack, and felt sure of success. The Russians had been retreating for a week, and most troops under such conditions would be pretty well demoralized. But Napoleon had never yet seen the Russian soldier at his best, that is, in reverse. The French army also had been marching for a week, with little or no shelter, and was much fatigued.

The battle began with a heavy cannonade by the Russians, who were much superior in this arm. Then they attempted to recapture the town of Eylau which had been taken by Soult at the point of the bayonet the evening before, and there was serious fighting in the streets and

gardens of the little town. Davout was ordered by the Emperor to attack the Russian left, and Augereau was sent forward to support him, but lost his way in a blizzard, and his corps was almost annihilated. Nevertheless Davout was finally successful in overpowering the Russian left wing, which he drove back until it formed a right angle with the morning position.

During the night the Russians decided to retreat, and Bennigsen, hotly pursued by Murat and Ney, reached Königsberg two days after the battle.

The losses on both sides were enormous, and for once Napoleon failed to follow up his success and gather the full fruit of his victory. Even his endurance had found a limit. This winter campaign had been forced on him by the Russian offensive, and he was glad to be able to put his troops again in winter quarters.

Napoleon selected Osterode for his headquarters and here for weeks he shared all the privations of his men. At first he had to be satisfied with a barn for his dwelling-place until something more suitable could be found. It was not until he moved to the castle of Finckenstein in April that his quarters became more comfortable. His cheerfulness under these hardships was an example to his officers and men.

After Eylau, Napoleon opened negotiations for peace with Frederick William, and offered to restore all of his territory north of the Elbe if he would conclude a separate treaty of peace with France. But the King refused, and in April signed a new treaty with Russia. The Emperor next turned to Austria and offered great concessions to that government in return for its alliance. But the Emperor Francis decided to remain neutral, and refused as before to side with either of the belligerents.

The French troops passed the rest of the winter quietly in their quarters on the Passarge. Supplies were obtained from the base at Thorn. Keen attention was paid to the maintenance of discipline and the employment of the men so as to avoid idleness. After the fall of Dantzic the

question of supplies was made much easier. Lefebvre with his corps had invested the place about the middle of March, and it finally surrendered the 25 May. His corps was then broken up to reinforce Mortier, and a reserve corps was formed, under the command of Lannes, in place of Augereau's corps which suffered so severely at Eylau that it had to be disbanded.

The Russians under Bennigsen had been in cantonments since March along the river Alle. Later he moved forward to Heilsberg.

After the fall of Dantzic, Napoleon, who had been heavily reinforced, had in hand five corps, with the Guard and Lannes' reserve corps — a total of about 170,000 men. Another corps of about 30,000 men was near Pultusk under Masséna who had been called up from Italy. Other detachments brought the army up to a total of 285,000 men.

The main Russian army under Bennigsen comprised about 90,000 men, with 20,000 Prussians in addition under Lestocq, and there were also about 50,000 Russians in reserve in the rear.

The Emperor was only waiting for the fall of Dantzic before resuming active operations. On the fifth of June he issued orders for the whole army to be ready to advance at the end of five days.

The Russians, however, anticipated his attack. For some time the Czar had been pressing Bennigsen to advance, but he felt that he was not sufficiently prepared. At length the complaints became so loud that he resolved to assume the offensive. The first week in June he began an advance in three columns from Heilsberg. His plan was to take advantage of Ney's exposed position and throw the bulk of his army upon him.

News of this advance movement reached Napoleon at Finckenstein on the fifth at midday, and the same evening he issued new orders for the concentration of his main body under Murat, Lannes, Mortier and Davout between Osterode and Saalfeld, to which line Ney and Soult were to fall back if hard pressed.

To Wehlau
Heinrichsdorf
River Alle
Kuckehören
Kloschenau
Ivaroff
Grouchy
Gortchakoff
Lannes
FRIEDLAND
Guard
Mortier
Bennigsen
Mortier
Lannes
Kollagriboff
Bagrathion
Allenau
Sortlack
To Wehlau

The same day, Bennigsen attacked Ney, who fell back slowly. The Emperor, finding that Ney was holding his own, now ordered the other corps to converge at a point further forward on the line of advance.

Seeing such large forces massing in support of Ney, the Russians abandoned the offensive and retreated to Heilsberg. Here Napoleon attacked them in their intrenched position on the tenth with his right wing, Murat, Soult and Lannes. But their position was too strong, and he broke off the engagement to await the arrival of the other corps. Bennigsen immediately abandoned his position and retreated to Friedland where he arrived two days later.

On the 14 June, Bennigsen resolved to fall on the advance corps of Lannes and check the French movement towards Königsberg. He therefore threw his main body across to the left bank of the Alle, and this led, on the anniversary of Marengo, to the decisive battle of Friedland between 80,000 French and 60,000 Russians.

The road from Eylau slopes gradually downwards towards the Alle, on the left bank of which stands the little town of Friedland. Two miles before it is reached a slight elevation in the rear of Posthenen affords a clear view over the entire battle-field, and down to the village lying directly in front of the spectator. Just before reaching Friedland the Alle makes a horse-shoe turn towards the west, on the north side of which the town is located.

There was one important feature of the landscape which was at once recognized by Napoleon on his arrival. A small brook, known as the Mill Stream, rising a little to the west, takes a course direct to Friedland, where it expands into a semicircular pond covering the north side of the town, which is thus built at the end of a peninsula. This stream divides the plain into two sections. Flowing between steep banks, although narrow it is a serious obstacle to the free movement of troops. On the day of the battle the whole surface of the open, gently undulating plain was covered with crops of winter wheat and rye.

This detail will be remarked in the celebrated painting of the battle by Meissonier which now hangs in the Metropolitan Museum at New York.

When the battle began at nine o'clock in the morning Lannes had only 17,000 men on the field to face nearly three times as many Russians. An hour later, Mortier's corps arrived, and the numbers were more nearly even.

The Emperor reached the field about noon, and from the elevation near Posthenen surveyed the ground. On this bright summer morning the scene was very different from that which he had witnessed under the wintry sky of Eylau four months before. He at once grasped the salient features of the battle-field and saw the weakness of the Russian position, with their corps separated by the Mill Stream, and a deep, unfordable river in the rear, crossed by only one permanent bridge.

Napoleon had sufficient force in hand to hold off the enemy, and he decided not to press the fight until Ney, Victor and the Guard arrived. Until five o'clock the action on both sides was maintained chiefly by the artillery. Then, the Guard and Victor having come up, Napoleon ordered the attack to begin. By eight o'clock Ney was in possession of Friedland and the battle was won. The Russians suffered very severe losses in their retreat over the only bridge that was left open to them.

There was no pursuit of the demoralized Russians, which was contrary to Napoleon's usual practice. The explanation probably is that he was influenced by political considerations. A pursuit such as that of the Prussians after Jena would have inflicted very heavy losses on the enemy, but would also have caused very bitter feelings. Napoleon did not want to make a permanent enemy of the Czar. He already had in mind the Russian alliance which was soon to be concluded.

On the 19 June Napoleon reached Tilsit nearly sixty miles from Friedland. His army had marched 140 miles in thirteen days, fighting two battles on the way.

At Tilsit Napoleon proposed a personal meeting be-

tween the Czar and himself to arrange the terms of peace. An enormous raft was constructed by the French engineers and moored in midstream. On the 25 June at one o'clock Napoleon, accompanied by Murat, Berthier, Bessières, Duroc and Caulaincourt, left one bank of the river at the same moment that Alexander, with the Grand Duke Constantine, Bennigsen and three aides de camp left the other. The two Emperors met on the raft, embraced, and then entered on a discussion which lasted two hours.

By the Treaty of Tilsit, signed on the seventh of July, Prussia was reduced to the territory lying between the Elbe and the Oder. From her share of the ancient Kingdom of Poland was formed the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The new Kingdom of Westphalia was formed out of Prussian lands west of the Elbe and bestowed upon Jérôme.

The 14 May at Finckenstein Napoleon was informed by a special courier of the death at The Hague nine days before of Napoleon Charles, the eldest son of Louis and Hortense. The little Prince Royal of Holland was attacked by the croup on the evening of the fourth and died at ten o'clock the following night. His grandmother Joséphine had cherished the hope that he would one day inherit the Imperial throne. The child was remarkable for his intelligence and beauty and was much beloved by the Emperor, whom he strongly resembled. The grief of Joséphine was intense. She did not dare to leave the territory of the Empire without the permission of the Emperor, but she went at once to the château of Laeken near Brussels, whence she wrote Hortense to come and join her. Louis and Hortense with their only remaining son, Napoleon Louis, then two and a half years old, arrived at Laeken the next evening.

A few days later, the Empress returned to Paris with Hortense and her child. After a short stay at Malmaison, Hortense left for Cauterets in the Pyrenees to take the waters for her health. Here she was rejoined by her husband, and for the last time they resumed their life in

common. Nine months later at the town house of Queen Hortense, 8, Rue Cerutti, now the Rue Laffitte, Paris, was born their third and youngest son, Louis Napoleon, afterwards the Emperor Napoleon the Third.

On the 28 July 1807, the Emperor, who had arrived the previous evening at Saint-Cloud, received the grand dignitaries of the State, who came to offer their felicitations. The victor of Austerlitz, of Jena and of Friedland, the conqueror of the three greatest nations of the Continent, was then at the height of his power. The dominions directly or indirectly under his control extended from the Vistula to the Strait of Gibraltar, from the North Sea to the mountains of Bohemia, from the Alps to the Adriatic. Not even Charlemagne had ever ruled so great an empire.

The fête of Napoleon, 15 August, was celebrated that year with unusual splendor. In the evening the Emperor appeared on the balcony of the Tuileries, holding the hand of Joséphine, and was acclaimed by an immense crowd which filled the illuminated Gardens.

A week later was celebrated the marriage of Jérôme with the young Princess Catherine of Würtemberg. Napoleon had had much difficulty in securing the annulment of his brother's marriage with Miss Patterson. The Pope had replied to the request of the Emperor by a formal refusal. But the French authorities were more amenable and in October 1806 he obtained a decree which pronounced the marriage null and void.

The King of Würtemberg, who owed his crown to Napoleon, was a regular colossus. The Queen, who was the step-mother of Catherine, was the daughter of King George the Third, and she was naturally opposed to the marriage. She did not venture however to raise any objections.

Jérôme, who was the youngest of the Bonapartes, and also the most worthless, had just received from his brother the crown of Westphalia. Born at Ajaccio the 15 November 1784, he was nearly two years younger

than his bride. The Princess was a woman of much charm, who inspired the sympathy and respect of everybody. She was tall and beautiful; affable in her manners, and of superior intelligence. Notwithstanding Jérôme's notorious infidelities, in 1814 she refused to divorce him, and clung to her unfortunate husband, the dethroned King. She won both the love and admiration of Napoleon, who, at Saint Helena, spoke of her in the highest terms.

The marriage was first celebrated by procuration at Stuttgart. The Princess arrived at the château of Raincy, where she saw her fiancé for the first time, 20 August, and at the Tuileries the next day. The civil marriage was celebrated on the twenty-second in the Galerie de Diane in the presence of the Emperor and the Empress and of all the great personages of the Empire. The religious ceremony was performed the following evening in the chapel of the Tuileries by the Archbishop of Ratisbon, the Prince-Primate of the Confederation of the Rhine.

The Court arrived at the château of Fontainebleau the 21 September and remained there eight weeks. During the First Empire the fêtes at Fontainebleau and Compiègne were much more formal than under the Second Empire. Napoleon the Third was a charming host and his guests all enjoyed themselves. But the Great Emperor was more feared than loved and his guests came as a matter of duty rather than of pleasure. He almost always dined alone, and it was a special honor, rarely extended even to princes, to be invited to his table. The hunts of the Second Empire were quite simple while those of the First were magnificent; there was very little etiquette under Napoleon the Third, but during the First Empire it was rigorous. The Emperor gave the order that all were to enjoy themselves, and he could not understand why every one had an air of *ennui*.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

1808

SPAIN

England Seizes the Danish Fleet — Napoleon and the Czar — Tuscany and the Papal States Annexed — Demands upon Portugal — Affairs in Spain — The Royal Family — The Prince of Peace — Treaty of Fontainebleau — Junot at Lisbon — Abdication of Charles — The Bayonne Conference — Joseph, King of Spain — The Erfurt Meeting — The Spanish Uprising — The Grand Army Enters Spain — Topography of the Country — Capture of Madrid — Death of Sir John Moore — Napoleon Returns to Paris

IN the midst of the fêtes at Fontainebleau came the unexpected news that England had sent a fleet and an expeditionary force against Denmark, and that after a three days' bombardment of Copenhagen, the Danish fleet had been seized and carried away. It developed later that through an indiscretion a secret clause of the Treaty of Tilsit had become known to the English Cabinet, which jumped to the conclusion that Denmark was to be constrained by France to close its ports against British goods. This was the English excuse for this outrage upon a neutral and inoffensive Power. The immediate result was the conclusion of an alliance between Denmark and France, but without the fleet there was no possibility of closing the Sound against British vessels.

The Czar, who had undertaken at Tilsit to mediate between France and England, was now forced to acknowledge that his efforts would be vain, and in accordance with the terms of the alliance, on the seventh of November 1807 he declared war on England. The Czar took this step with great reluctance, for Russia was not a manufacturing nation, and was very dependent on British goods, which it paid for by the export of the products of its rich

fields and forests. The opposition in Russia to joining the Continental Blockade was almost universal, and this feeling had much to do later with the final rupture with France. For the moment however Alexander was willing to yield to the wishes of Napoleon; but he at once made a demand that, as proposed at Tilsit, he should be allowed to take possession of the Danubian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as of Finland, which still belonged to Sweden. Napoleon refused peremptorily to consent to this dismemberment of Turkey, but he urged the Czar to proceed to the conquest of Finland, and offered for this purpose to send the corps of Bernadotte to his assistance.

Although the heart of Alexander was more set upon securing the Principalities, he accepted the other proposition, and the last of February suddenly invaded Finland. But the conquest did not turn out to be as easy as he had expected. The Swedes with the assistance of English troops put up a stout resistance; the promised corps of Bernadotte did not materialize; and the Czar, owing to the continued French occupation of Prussia, did not like to reinforce his expeditionary army from that quarter. He was therefore forced to recall his troops from the Danube, which was just what Napoleon desired, as it meant giving up any hopes of conquest there for the present.

Napoleon now turned his attention to Italy. The young dowager Queen of Etruria, who was surrounded by advisers unfriendly to France, had opened the port of Livorno to English goods which were brought in under the American flag. The last of August, Napoleon sent a small force to take possession of Tuscany. The Queen was informed that provision would be made for her in the partition of Portugal, which was then being arranged with Spain. Tuscany, and the islands of Corsica and Elba, were incorporated into the Empire and apportioned into three departments.

There now remained in Italy only one small state which was not subject to Napoleon's power — that of the Pope. This must be controlled if the Continental Blockade was to be rigidly enforced. As the Holy Father, after prolonged negotiations, finally refused to comply with Napoleon's demands, early in February 1808 the Papal States were occupied by French troops, and later were formally annexed to the Empire.

At Tilsit it had been arranged between the Czar and Napoleon that Portugal should be requested to enter the Continental System, and in the event of her refusal should be treated as a common enemy. In this action Spain was to be called on to coöperate. This was making no small demand on that government, for the Crown Prince John of Portugal, regent for his mother, who was of unsound mind, had married the daughter of Charles the Fourth. Nevertheless Spain acquiesced.

Before telling the story of the Spanish drama upon which the curtain is about to rise, it will be well to take a look at the characters who are to play the principal rôles.

The family of the Spanish Bourbons was descended from Philip of Anjou, a grandson of Louis the Fourteenth of France, who became King in 1700 under the title of Philip the Fifth. In that year the male line of the Spanish Hapsburgs became extinct, and the conflicting claims to the throne gave rise to the War of the Spanish Succession. The nearest natural heir to the throne was of the royal Bourbon line of France, the elder sister of the late King, Charles the Second, having married Louis the Fourteenth. Failing the Bourbons, the next heirs were the descendants of a younger sister of Charles who had married the Emperor Leopold the First of Austria. Louis claimed the throne for his grandson Philip, who was proclaimed King in 1700 and was confirmed by the Peace of Utrecht in 1713.

In 1808 the family was composed of seven persons, of whom only four concern us: the King, Charles the Fourth,

then sixty years of age; his ignoble wife, who was three years younger; his eldest son the Prince of the Asturias, afterwards Ferdinand the Seventh, a boy of twenty; and his daughter Marie-Louise, widow of the King of Etruria.

To this interesting group should be added Emmanuel Godoy, Prince de la Paix, the King's favorite and the Queen's lover. Born in 1767, Godoy, who belonged to a noble but poor family, had begun his career as a *garde-du-corps*. His handsome appearance and the elegance of his manners had won the favor of the Queen, and he had become First Minister, and the real ruler of the Spanish Monarchy. The King seemed to be, if possible, as much infatuated with him as the Queen. To his title of Prime Minister, Godoy joined those of Generalissimo and Grand Admiral.

At the time of the Prussian campaign, Godoy for a moment had the idea of taking part against France, but at the news of the battle of Jena he humbled himself before the Emperor, and sent a contingent of 14,000 Spaniards to join the Grand Army. By a treaty signed at Fontainebleau the 27 October 1807, he further agreed to place at the Emperor's disposal an army of 24,000 men, who with the same number of French were to undertake the conquest of Portugal. It was arranged that that country should be divided into three portions: the north was to be given to the grandson of Charles the Fourth, the little King of Etruria, in exchange for Tuscany; the south was to be erected into a sovereignty for the Prince de la Paix; and the centre was to be occupied by the French.

At the time that the Treaty of Fontainebleau was signed, Ferdinand was at swords' points with his father. Detested by his mother, and on bad terms with the favorite, he had formed the plan of seizing the government. The King, advised of this plot, put himself at the head of his guards, 29 October, and went to the apartment of the young prince, whom he put under arrest.

While these events were happening at Madrid, Junot

at the head of a French army of 25,000 men had crossed the Bidassoa the 18 October 1807, and had advanced without difficulty to the gates of Lisbon. Before his arrival there, the royal family of Portugal and all the principal families of the kingdom had embarked on the fleet, with all of their valuables, and sailed for Brazil.

On the first day of March 1808, Napoleon notified the Court of Madrid of his intention to annex all of Spain north of the Ebro to the French Empire. At the same time he offered to the Spanish Monarchy, by way of compensation, all of Portugal. The King was stupefied by this proposition, but did not dare to make any open opposition. In great secrecy he made preparations to follow the example of the royal family of Portugal and flee to America. But the news in some way leaked out and there was a popular uprising, in which the troops joined, to oppose the departure of the royal family. The King, terrified by the tumult, abdicated the crown in favor of his son, who took the name of Ferdinand the Seventh.

The question now was, whether this abdication would be recognized by Napoleon. A French army under Murat was already advancing on Madrid, and on the 24 March it entered the city. The new King made his entry the same day, and as the population imagined that the Emperor was the ally of the new sovereign, the French troops received a warm welcome.

Charles, who was at the Escurial, now wrote the Emperor that his abdication had been forced upon him, and asked for assistance in recovering his throne. At the same time, Ferdinand also appealed; and on the tenth of April he set out to meet the Emperor at Bayonne, where Charles and his queen had already been summoned.

Napoleon at this time was at the château of Marrac at Bayonne, where he was joined by the Empress on the 27 April. Here Charles and his wife arrived three days later, accompanied by Godoy.

Meanwhile grave events had happened at Madrid. The people, enraged at the treatment of their sovereigns, on

the second of May broke out in open revolt against the French, but the émeute was violently suppressed by Murat.

When this news reached Bayonne, the old King, who was continually haunted by the spectres of Charles the First and Louis the Sixteenth, voluntarily ceded to Napoleon his rights to the crown of Spain, for which he received in return the châteaux of Compiègne and Chambord as residences, with a civil list of seven millions and a half of francs. Five days later, Ferdinand also resigned his claims to the throne, and received the château of Navarre with an income of a million francs.

History certainly has never recorded a more remarkable bargain than this sale for a paltry sum of the crown of Spain and the Indies by the descendants of the Grand Monarque to the son of an obscure Corsican gentleman!

On the tenth of May, Charles and his wife, accompanied by the young Queen of Etruria and Godoy, left for Fontainebleau where they were to live until the château of Compiègne was prepared for their reception. The following day, Ferdinand set out for the château of Valençay where he was to be for a time the guest of M. de Talleyrand.

On the seventh of June, Joseph arrived at Bayonne, to be proclaimed King of Spain, and two days later he left there to take possession of his new throne. On the twentieth of the same month Napoleon and Joséphine started on a round of visits to the principal cities of the south and west of France, and reached Saint-Cloud the 14 August. It was during this trip that the Emperor heard of the capitulation of Dupont at Baylen, the first striking disaster to his arms.

The eyes of all Europe were now turned to the little German city of Erfurt, where Napoleon was to meet the Czar. The conference began the 27 September and lasted until the 14 October. All the allies of the Emperor were present: the kings of Saxony, Bavaria, Würtemberg and

Westphalia; the Prince-Primate and all the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine. The actors of the Comédie Française played before a "parterre of kings." One evening when the "Œdipus" of Voltaire was being performed, as Talma declaimed the words:

> "The friendship of a great man
> Is a true gift of the gods,"

the Czar, amidst the applause of the audience, pressed in the most cordial manner the hand of his former and future foe.

To her great regret, Joséphine had not been allowed to accompany the Emperor, and she divined that her divorce would be one of the subjects of discussion. In this she was not mistaken. The Czar had two sisters of a marriageable age: the grand duchesses Catherine and Anne. Talleyrand, whom Napoleon had taken with him, broached the subject to Alexander. The Czar, while protesting his earnest desire to become the brother-in-law of the Emperor, stated frankly that his mother would be strongly opposed to the plan, and that the only way to obtain her consent was to satisfy the hopes of Russia with regard to Constantinople. It is perhaps unnecessary to state that Napoleon was not willing to pay this price for the honor of an alliance with the Imperial family of Russia.

The chief practical results of the Erfurt conference can be summed up in a few words: The Franco-Russian alliance was continued, though on somewhat strained terms; the Danubian Principalities were reluctantly conceded to the Czar; and he was given a free hand in dealing with Sweden.

For himself Napoleon had gained nothing except a breathing spell during which he could proceed, without danger of immediate interference, to the regulation of affairs in Spain. It was nothing less than a diplomatic defeat. He also made a great mistake in taking Talleyrand with him. This unprincipled minister had already begun to turn against his master, and he embraced the oppor-

MAP
OF
SPAIN & PORTUGAL
to Illustrate the
CAMPAIGNS OF 1808 ETC.
EXPLANATION.
TOWNS of upwards of 50,000 inhabitants.
Towns of 30 – 50,000 inhabitants.
Towns of 10 – 30,000 inhabitants.
Places below 10,000 inhabitants.
Longitude West from Greenwich.
Longitude East from Greenwich.
TOULOUSE
FRANCE
Pyrenees Mountains
BARCELONA
Majorca
Ibiza
Formenteria
Cabrera
MADRID
VALENCIA
MURCIA
GRANADA
MALAGA
Gibraltar
Plateau of New Castile
Plateau of Murcia
Sierra Nevada
Sa Segura
Sa Guadarrama
Sa Morena
Mountains
Pampeluna
Saragossa (Zaragoza)
Tarragona
Tortosa
Alicante
Murcia
Carthagena
Cadiz
Seville
Cordova
Toledo
Aranjuez
Escurial
Guadalaxara
Segovia
Valladolid
Burgos
Bilbao
Santander
Vittoria
Logrono
Soria
Aranda
Burgos
Lerida
Balaguer
Cervera
Manresa
Vich
Gerona
Figueras
Rosas
Perpignan
Carcassonne
Tarbes
Pau
Bayonne
Irun
Tolosa
Vergara
Durango
Orduna
Miranda
Tudela
Calahorra
Agreda
Jaca
Sangueesa
Estella
Olite
Tafalla
Puente la Reyna
Roncesvalles
Pamplona
Lumbier
Sanguesa
Monzon
Fraga
Mequinenza
Caspe
Alcaniz
Belchite
Alagon
Epila
Illueca
Daroca
Calatayud
Molina
Siguenza
Almazan
Aranda
Roa
Peñafiel
Valladolid
Toro
Zamora
Benavente
Palencia
Carrion
Sahagun
Leon
Astorga
Villafranca
Ponferrada
Villalpando
Toro
Zamora
Salamanca
Ciudad Rodrigo
Almeida
Alcantara
Coria
Plasencia
Talavera
Oropesa
Castellan de la Plana
Oviedo (Saguntum)
Murviedro
Sagunto
Xativa
Denia
Alcoy
Villena
Elche
Orihuela
Lorca
Chinchilla
Almansa
Albacete
Requena
Cuenca
Tarancon
Ucles
Toledo
Almonacid
Talavera
Navalcarnero
Escurial
Guadalaxara
Aranjuez
Ocaña
Tembleque
Consuegra
Puente del Arzobispo
Talavera la Real
Badajoz
Merida
Almendralejo
Zafra
Llerena
Fuente Ovejuna
Pozoblanco
Montoro
Andujar
Baylen
Jaen
Ubeda
Baeza
Linares
Andujar
Cordova
Ecija
Osuna
Antequera
Loja
Alhama
Velez Malaga
Motril
Almeria
C. de Gata
Estepona
St Roque
Algeziras
Tarifa
Xeres
Puerto Santa Maria
Cadiz
Medina Sidonia
Chiclana
Conil
Tarifa
Ayamonte
Huelva
Moguer
Palos
Lepe
Ayamonte
Castro Marim
Tavira
Faro
Lagos
Sagres
Cape St Vincent
Portimao
Lagoa
Silves
Albufeira
Loule
Faro
Olhao
Tavira
Castro Marim

tunity to give Alexander advice which was later to prove very detrimental to the Emperor.

When Joseph arrived at Madrid in July 1808 he brought with him a new constitution and also capable ministers to execute it. He came with the best of intentions to raise the decadent kingdom to new heights of power and splendor. But the people would have none of it. Their national pride had been wounded by the treatment of their legitimate sovereigns, and their religious fervor had been aroused by Napoleon's action in robbing the Pope of his throne. The nation "refused ratification to the Treaty of Bayonne" and sprang to arms as one man. The revolt spread with furious rapidity. Before the end of July Joseph was compelled to abandon his capital and withdraw behind the Ebro with the entire French army.

The Spaniards had sent messengers to London to ask assistance, and in August English troops landed in Portugal. The last of that month Junot was forced to capitulate, although on terms most honorable to the French army.

When Napoleon left Bayonne in July he had felt no doubt that the revolt in Spain would soon be put down, and he was not a little disturbed by the news of the next two months. For the sake of his own prestige it was necessary to crush this rebellious movement at once, and restore his brother to the throne. He therefore resolved to enter Spain himself with the Grand Army, the invincible veterans of Austerlitz, Jena and Friedland.

Confident of an easy success over the untrained Spanish levies, Napoleon lightly embarked on this five years' war, which was to baffle him at every stage, to drain his resources, to cost him 300,000 valuable lives, and to end in failure. He was to encounter for the first time the same kind of national uprising which during the Revolution had made France invincible against the armed hosts of Europe. His previous wars had been waged with governments which relied for their defence on professional armies. Now he was to face a whole nation in arms, resolved to die rather than to submit to the invader. The Spanish

rising was to be the first of a series of popular, national movements which were to prove Napoleon's undoing. At Saint Helena he said, "It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me."

This peculiar land, so fatal to French arms, deserves a word of description. The Pyrenees, which separate France from Spain, except at the two ends near the Bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean, for a distance of 250 miles, were then crossed only by mule tracks. The main highway from France starts at Bayonne, crosses the mountains to Vittoria and runs thence via Miranda on the Ebro through Burgos to Madrid. The central plateau of the country is barren, the fertile districts lying near the coasts. Madrid is a political rather than a commercial centre. From the capital radiate highways leading to the principal cities.

In the parts of Europe where Napoleon had conducted his previous campaigns the rivers and mountains had prescribed the strategy, but in Spain geography was against him. Both the rivers and the mountains ran in the wrong direction, right across his path. The country was too poor to support an army, and the means of communication were execrable. It was a country admirably designed for the defensive, very difficult for the offensive. In the passes and valleys between the successive mountain ranges it was not easy for large armies to operate, and the country was well adapted for guerrilla warfare. As Henri Quatre wisely said, "In Spain large armies will starve, and small ones will get beaten." Napoleon was to learn this lesson too late.

By the end of October, Napoleon had over 200,000 men ready to march into Spain. About 100,000 had been taken from Italy and southern France, and the corps of Victor, Ney, Mortier, Lannes and Soult had been brought back from Germany, leaving only 100,000 troops across the Rhine.

As soon as the Erfurt conference was over Napoleon

set out for Spain, arriving at Bayonne on the third of November. The French centre was then posted on the main road from Bayonne to the Ebro. It comprised the corps of Soult, Victor and Ney, the Guard, and the cavalry reserve under Bessières, in all about 75,000 men.

Napoleon's plan was to advance to Burgos and interpose between the enemy's two flank forces. Immediately on his arrival the troops were set in motion. The small Spanish forces were easily scattered, but small guerrilla bodies formed in the rear of the French advance and seriously hampered the system of communications. Napoleon appeared before Madrid on the second of December, bombarded the city on the third, and entered it the following day. He then made arrangements to have the Guard and three corps at Madrid by the middle of the month, while only Soult and Moncey would be detached. At the same time the corps of Junot and Mortier would be crossing the frontier to join him.

In the meantime the English army under Sir John Moore had advanced towards Burgos. When Napoleon heard of this movement he left Madrid with the Guard and Ney's corps to cut off Moore's retreat, while Soult held him in front. As soon as Moore learned of his danger, he turned back and made good his escape. The Emperor then returned to Madrid with the Guard, leaving Ney and Soult to deal with Moore. Soult pursued Moore as far as the coast, and drove the remnant of the British army back upon their ships. Corunna and Ferrol with all their supplies fell into the hands of the French. Sir John Moore was killed, and his burial has been described in one of the most celebrated poems in the English language.

Napoleon reinstated his brother in Madrid, and when in January he was called back to France by the menace of another war with Austria, he could look back upon a series of successes which held out the hope that Spain would soon be completely pacified. He felt so sure of the situation that he even withdrew 30,000 men for service on the Rhine.

During the few weeks that Napoleon stayed in Madrid he was constantly occupied with plans for the upbuilding of the country. He abolished the Inquisition; also the remains of the feudal system; also the tariff boundaries which shut off province from province. He also closed two-thirds of the monasteries.

Probably Napoleon, if he had had the opportunity, would have so firmly established the new institutions that they would have finally taken root, and Spain to-day would be a far more progressive State, but time was necessary, and time he could not command. On the 18 January 1809 Napoleon left this country which he alone could have conquered, which he never was to see again, and which was destined to ruin his Empire. He left behind him 300,000 men and five Marshals of France. On the 23 January he was at Paris.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

1809

WAGRAM

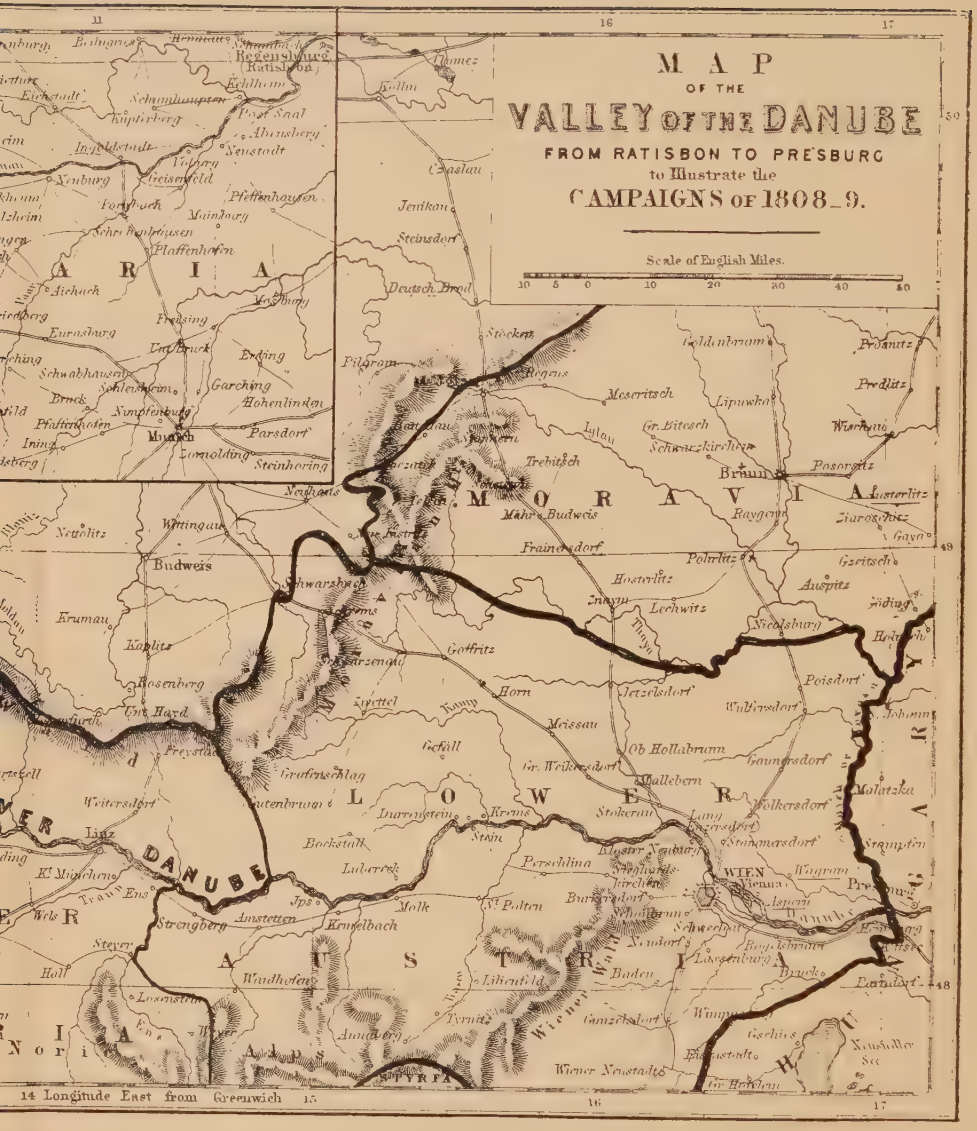
Why Napoleon Left Spain — Fouché and Talleyrand — Austria Threatens War — Situation in Germany — Napoleon's Preparations — Austria's Plan of Campaign — Errors of Berthier — Napoleon Joins the Army — His Brilliant Strategy — His Victories in Bavaria — Capture of Vienna — Battle of Aspern — Death of Lannes — Both Armies Reinforced — Battle of Wagram — Peace of Schönbrunn — The Court at Fontainebleau and the Tuileries — The Divorce of Joséphine — Her Last Days

THE Emperor's sudden and unexpected return to Paris had been caused by events of momentous importance in the internal and external politics of France. Even as early as 1805 his minister of Finance, Gaudin, had made the remark to him that the Empire had been increased to a point where only he was capable of governing it. Two years later Metternich, the Austrian diplomat, made the same observation, "It is remarkable that Napoleon has not yet taken the first step towards assuring the existence of his successors." In 1809 he added, "His death will be the signal for a new and terrible *bouleversement.*" These signs of the times had not escaped the notice of the clear-headed Talleyrand. On the second of January Napoleon received at his headquarters in Spain the reports of a *rapprochement* of those usually envious rivals Talleyrand and Fouché, who now walked arm in arm, held private conferences, and seemed to have some secret understanding with his ambitious brother-in-law Murat. In spite of the assertions of Lanfrey and other historians there is evidence of an intrigue by no means insignificant conducted by these ministers and others who were alarmed over the Continental System of the Emperor in general, and the Spanish enterprise in particular.

But whatever impression this news may have made on the Emperor, the consideration of Austria's attitude was of greater weight in determining him to leave Spain. During his absence that Power had been pushing forward its military preparations and appeared determined upon war. With Napoleon and most of his veteran troops deeply involved in the Spanish undertaking, Austria thought that the moment was opportune to recover her lost possessions. Her desperate financial situation furnished another argument in favor of immediate action, for the army could be maintained at its full complement only until spring. The subsidies which had been asked from England had been promised only upon the actual commencement of hostilities. Austria had also hoped for assistance from Prussia, but the King on his return from a visit to the Czar at Saint Petersburg had positively refused to take any part in warlike operations, and strongly advised Austria to preserve the peace. This stand of Frederick William was very depressing to the Vienna Court, as it showed that the Czar was still sincere in his friendship for France. Notwithstanding all these discouragements Austria decided to go ahead.

It is impossible to state to what extent Napoleon was advised of the Austrian plans before his return to Paris, but he certainly had enough information to put him on his guard. At this time he had only 90,000 men in Germany, under Davout and Oudinot. He immediately took steps to organize a new army of 160,000 young recruits. He withdrew two divisions and the Guard from Spain and ordered some troops which were on their way there to face about and proceed to Germany.

Napoleon's first orders were for Davout to leave good garrisons in the fortresses and with 45,000 men to rendezvous at Bamberg. Oudinot was ordered to Augsburg, Lannes was called back from Spain, and Masséna, who was actually at Lyon with 30,000 men en route for the Peninsula, was sent to Strasbourg. The Confederation of the Rhine was called on to mobilize 30,000 men. By the


MAP
OF THE
VALLEY OF THE DANUBE
FROM RATISBON TO PRESBURG
to Illustrate the
CAMPAIGNS OF 1808–9.
Scale of English Miles.
30 5 0 10 20 30 40 50
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
MORAVIA
LOWER
DANUBE
Ratisbon
Regensburg
Munich
Landshut
Ingolstadt
Neuburg
Donauwörth
Augsburg
Ulm
Eichstadt
Schrobenhausen
Pfaffenhofen
Freising
Erding
Landsberg
Mühldorf
Braunau
Passau
Linz
Enns
Steyer
Amstetten
Melk
Krems
Stein
Mautern
Tulln
Vienna
WIEN
Schönbrunn
Hietzing
Mariahilf
Leopoldstadt
Landstrasse
Wieden
Gumpendorf
Neustadt
Laxenburg
Baden
Brück
Pottendorf
Wiener Neustadt
Schwechat
Enzersdorf
Wagram
Aspern
Essling
Stockerau
Korneuburg
Stammersdorf
Klosterneuburg
Hainburg
Presburg
Carnuntum
Deutsch Brod
Iglau
Brünn
Austerlitz
Olmütz
Znaim
Budweis
Krumau
Kaplitz
Rosenberg
Freystadt
Gratzen
Neuhaus
Tabor
Pisek
Horn
Zwettel
Gföhl
Gross Schlag
Weitersdorf
Lambach
Wels
Gmunden
Hallstadt
Ischl
Aussee
Salzburg
Reichenhall
Berchtesgaden
Traunstein
Rosenheim
Kufstein
Innsbruck
Brixen
Bruneck
Lienz
Villach
Klagenfurt
Tarvis
Görz
Laibach
Adelsberg
Triest
Fiume
Agram
Carlstadt
Steinamanger
Raab
Comorn
Gran
Ofen
Pesth
Waitzen
Neusohl
Kremnitz
Schemnitz
Leutschau
Eperies
Tokay
Kaschau
Miskolcz
Debreczin
Arad
Temesvar
Hermannstadt
Kronstadt
Bucharest
Jassy
Lemberg
Brody
Tarnopol
Zloczow
Zamosc
Lublin
Cracow
Wadowice
Teschen
Troppau
Olmütz
Prerau
Hradisch
Ungarisch Brod
Göding
Lundenburg
Nikolsburg
Feldsberg
Zistersdorf
Mistelbach
Stockerau
Krems
Melk
Amstetten
Steyer
Linz
Wels
Lambach
Gmunden
Hallstadt
Ischl
Aussee
Salzburg
Reichenhall
Berchtesgaden
Traunstein
Rosenheim
Kufstein
Innsbruck
Brixen
Bruneck
Lienz
Villach
Klagenfurt
Tarvis
Görz
Laibach
Adelsberg
Triest
Fiume
Agram
Carlstadt
Steinamanger
Raab
Comorn
Gran
Ofen
Pesth
Waitzen
Neusohl
Kremnitz
Schemnitz
Leutschau
Eperies
Tokay
Kaschau
Miskolcz
Debreczin
Arad
Temesvar
Hermannstadt
Kronstadt
Bucharest
Jassy
Lemberg
Brody
Tarnopol
Zloczow
Zamosc
Lublin
Cracow
Wadowice
Teschen
Troppau
Olmütz
Prerau
Hradisch
Ungarisch Brod
Göding
Lundenburg
Nikolsburg
Feldsberg
Zistersdorf
Mistelbach
14 Longitude East from Greenwich
15
16
17
48
49

end of March the Emperor counted on having 140,000 troops in Bavaria, while the Guard would soon be there.

The Archduke Charles, who had been for many months in charge of Austrian military matters, had made a supreme effort to raise a force capable of competing with Napoleon, and he had done his work well. The active army consisted of over 300,000 men, divided on the French system into ten corps. Seven corps under Charles were assembled in Bohemia ready to debouch into Bavaria at Ratisbon; John was to head two corps in Italy, while Ferdinand was to invade Poland with the remaining corps.

In an order issued from Paris the last of March, the Emperor placed Berthier in charge of operations, and indicated to him the general plan he was to pursue until he himself should reach the front. The key-note of this order, which the Emperor sounded again and again, was, "Should the Austrians attack, the army is to concentrate behind the Lech." By the word "attack" he meant of course an advance into Bavaria with the intent of attacking the French forces. Nothing could be clearer. Armed with these orders, which no doubt were supplemented by verbal instructions, Berthier left Paris the last day of March and arrived at Strasbourg on the fourth of April.

On the eighth of April the Emperor issued the order for the final organization of the army. There were to be six corps under the command of Lannes, Davout, Masséna, Lefebvre, Augereau and Bernadotte, the cavalry reserve under Bessières, and the Guard, about 300,000 men in all.

The total Austrian levies were also about 300,000 men under the colors, with 100,000 landwehr in reserve. Military skill quite apart, it was about an even match, but with Napoleon in command the French had a marked superiority. The enemy always regarded his presence on the field of battle as equal to an army corps of fifty thousand men.

Having learned at Paris late on the 12 April that the

Austrians had crossed the Inn on the tenth, the Emperor started for the front at daylight the next morning. At that time messages were transmitted by a number of "telegraph" or semaphore stations which had been established in central and southern Germany all converging on Strasbourg, from which place there were some forty stations to Paris.

On his arrival at Donanwörth on the morning of the 17 April the Emperor learned with dismay that Berthier had blundered terribly in carrying out his orders. The enemy stood substantially in one body in front of Landshut, on the Isar, while the isolated French left wing under Davout was in danger of being cut off at Ratisbon less than thirty miles to the north; the French right wing at Augsburg seventy miles away was equally isolated, and the sparsely-held centre could easily have been pierced. As Jomini says, "twenty campaigns had impressed no comprehension of strategy on Berthier." Instead of being concentrated the army was widely scattered in the face of the enemy. "Is there any wonder," asks Dodge, "when the man nearest the Emperor was so obtuse, that Napoleon's new method of war so long remained a puzzle?"

The only thing which saved the French army from disaster was the Archduke's awe of his formidable opponent and his excess of caution. Fortunately the Emperor arrived in time. Despite the dangerous situation there was yet hope in speed and purpose. Almost any other general would have ordered Davout to fall back by way of the north bank of the Danube, but the Emperor assumed that a bold front was the safest defence, and Davout was directed to march on the south bank in battle order and ready for attack. At the same time Masséna at Augsburg was ordered to start in light order and march towards Ingolstadt. Owing to the Archduke's slowness the Emperor thus recovered the initiative and turned a dangerous position into the offensive. In one day his master-mind had completely changed the conditions. In a postscript to Masséna's orders he wrote in his own hand: "Activity!

Activity! Speed!" What saved the situation was the speed with which the marshals executed his orders, added to the accurate directions he gave their march. Had Charles even then have divined the conditions and pushed in with vigor he might have driven Napoleon back to the Rhine, but he could not see and act as quickly as his great opponent, and he feared to venture on a bold manœuvre with Napoleon in his front.

It would be tedious to attempt to give in detail the operations which followed. Even the most reliable contemporary records and the best historians do not agree. But the strategy and the grand-tactics are plain.Charles had been decisively out-manœuvred. Whereas at Landshut he had been concentrated opposite the weak French centre which he could have brushed away like a cobweb, his own line was now long and scattered. There was a gap between the Austrian right and left wings, held by a slender cordon of troops which the French could dislodge and cut the army in two. Napoleon now had the precise opportunity which Charles had neglected, and he was not slow to take advantage of it. "And yet," says Dodge, "the Archduke was a soldier of high rank, perhaps, with Wellington, the strongest of his contemporaries, except when the gigantic personality of Napoleon overshadowed him and robbed him of the push and purpose he really possessed."

In the four days from the 19 to the 22 April the Emperor compelled the Archduke to abandon his offensive movement which had hardly begun and to retire to the north bank of the Danube. Never before had Napoleon acted with more intense energy, nor had he ever made such calls upon his troops and obtained such a splendid response. He was always more proud of this series of manœuvres than of any other he conducted. On the twelfth of April he was in Paris; four days later he was at the front, and in a short week he won two battles: Abensberg, which cut the enemy in two and isolated the Austrian left, and Eckmühl, which broke the Austrian right. He considered these operations infinitely superior to those of Marengo,

and the most brilliant and able of his career. Like Cæsar he might have said: "*veni, vidi, vici.*"

In his "Proclamation to the Army" issued the 24 April at Ratisbon the Emperor stated that a hundred pieces of cannon, forty flags, and fifty thousand prisoners had been captured. In conclusion he said, "Before a month we shall be in Vienna." The Emperor was mistaken. He was there in three weeks!

In this campaign Napoleon for the last time showed all the activity of the days of Italy. He was always in motion, always present at the important point, hardly giving an instant to rest or food. There were no bounds to his capacity for work.

Napoleon soon abandoned the idea of pursuing Charles along the left bank of the Danube. There were many excellent defensive positions in Bohemia which would delay his advance to Vienna. He therefore decided to follow the old route along the right bank. On the tenth of May, just one month after Charles had invaded Bavaria, Napoleon stood in front of Vienna, which surrendered after a feeble defence three days later.

Napoleon's chief preoccupation now was the means of crossing the Danube so as to attack the Austrian army. It will be recalled that in 1805 Murat had won the Floridsdorf bridge by a *ruse de guerre*, but this time it had been destroyed. Every day's delay would give the enemy time to fortify the positions opposite all the known crossings.

No operation in war is more difficult than the passage of a river in the face of the enemy. And yet the operation is equally difficult to resist, and prior to the Great War, when the rivers were held in force along their entire course, it was generally successful.

Down to within a few miles of Vienna the Danube flows in a kind of a gorge, with its channel narrowed by the mountains on either side, but just above the city the channel opens out into a series of arms containing numerous small and several large islands, affording many places for crossings. Below Vienna there is one very large island,

Stadlau
Hirschstetten
Süssenbrunn
Breitenlee
Reserve
Bellowsky
ASPERN (Gross Aspern)
Hohenzollern
Cars St Cyr
M A R C H F E L D
Imperial Guard
Neu Wirthshaus
To Wagram
St Hilaire
ESSLING
Esslinger Hof
Rosenberg
Rashdorf
Stadt Enzersdorf
Wittau
ENVIRONS OF VIENNA
Explanatory of the Battles of
ESSLING & WAGRAM
Meissau
Ober Hollabrun
Gaunersdorf
Stockerau
Wolkersdorf
Malaczka
Mautern
Danube
Donau
Kornneuburg
Bisamberg
Kloster Neuburg
Kahlenberg
Leopoldsberg
Marchfeld
Stampfer
Wagram
VIENNA
(Wien)
Aspern
Enzersdorf
St Pölten
Schönbrunn
TREISBURG
Mödling
Hainburg
Bruck
Baden
Leytha R.
Wiener Wald

Lobau, shaped somewhat like a pear, and in dimensions nearly three miles east and west, by a little less north and south. Lobau is separated from the south bank by several other large islands, among which runs the main current, much shallower and slower at this point than above the city. Two bridges were built here, one 1500 and the other 800 feet in length. Between the island and the north bank the arm is less than 400 feet wide. Lobau may thus be described as a fortress with a broad moat in front. It afforded shelter for a large force, and seemed to be the most available point for crossing.

The main bridge, in three sections, which was built under the supervision of Masséna, was composed of big freight boats, found at the city wharves, which were of various sizes and called for much adjustment. It was also difficult to anchor them in the swift current which was now swollen by the melted snow from the mountains at the source.

As in 1805, Napoleon had made his headquarters at Schönbrunn, but on the 19 May he went to Kaiser Ebersdorf to watch proceedings.

On the left bank of the river opposite Lobau lies the Marchfeld, a wide, slightly rolling plain. About a mile from the river and about as far apart are situated the villages of Aspern and Essling. The curtain connecting the two places was an inconsiderable depression in the ground and a slightly embanked road, which gave very little if any defensive strength.But it was different with the two villages, which formed natural bastions. Aspern, which was much the larger, boasted of two streets, while Essling had but one. Both were solidly built of stone and were surrounded by low embankments to keep out high floods from the river. Each of them had strong *réduits* in the form of buildings of very substantial construction. In Aspern the church and the cemetery at the western end formed a sort of citadel from which the streets were enfiladed. In Essling there was a large granary in the centre and a walled enclosure farther west.

By noon on the twentieth the big bridge from the south shore was completed, and at six o'clock the same afternoon a pontoon was thrown across the narrow arm to the north shore and Bessières with two divisions of cavalry passed over and took possession of the ground between Aspern and Essling. Other troops followed during the night. Such conflicting reports were brought in by the reconnoitring light-horse that at midnight the Emperor sent Masséna over to ascertain what was in front. He mounted the clock tower of Aspern, and satisfied himself that the Austrian army was encamped along the Russbach about ten miles to the northeast. At daybreak the Emperor himself rode out with Bessières, Lannes and Masséna.

A glance at the map will show that the essential thing to do was to occupy the two villages with a force capable of holding them until the rest of the army had time to cross. Dodge says that no orders to this effect were given, and that the neglect on Napoleon's part is hard to explain. But this statement does not seem to be correct.

The numbers of the opposing forces at Vienna and in the neighborhood were about 110,000 French and 105,000 Austrians. The Archduke, who had been closely watching the French movements, had laid his plans to wait until part of their army had crossed and then to attack it in force. At midday on the twenty-first the Austrian advance began. The necessary materials for breaking the bridges had previously been collected.

The Austrians numbered about 80,000 to 40,000 French, who under Masséna at Aspern and Lannes at Essling had occupied and strongly fortified these two natural redoubts. Napoleon's plan was to hold on to these two strong flank positions and thus gain time for his remaining divisions to debouch into the Marchfeld.

The brunt of the first day's battle fell on Aspern, which was taken and retaken several times, and at evening remained in the hands of the Austrians. Their attacks on Essling were less successful.

Early in the day a rapid rise of the waters in the river

seriously damaged the main bridge, but by midnight it was sufficiently restored to enable one cavalry and four infantry divisions, making a total of 30,000 men, to cross.

When the battle was resumed on the following day, Napoleon detailed three divisions to recapture and hold Aspern, and sent two to reinforce Essling, while the Guard and two infantry and three cavalry divisions formed the centre. At three o'clock in the morning, Masséna seized Aspern by a sudden attack, while Lannes at Essling repulsed two Austrian columns. At seven, the Emperor launched his centre in a strong attack upon the Austrian centre which began to waver and was only rallied by the personal efforts of the Archduke.

About nine o'clock Napoleon learned that the bridges had once more broken down and that Davout would be unable to cross that day. At one o'clock he ordered a retreat to Lobau. The retreat was covered by Masséna who did not retire from Aspern and Essling until three o'clock the following morning, when he finally withdrew to the island with the Guard, unpursued, and destroying the pontoon bridges behind him.

The fighting of the French had been beyond words to praise, and Charles, who had really put in his last man, was obliged to rest content with the laurels already won. With overwhelming superiority in numbers he had fought what was practically a drawn battle with his great opponent, but which would almost certainly have been a French victory, if Davout's corps had been able to cross. In the face of these facts the historians hostile to Napoleon have claimed that he was defeated.

Towards the end of the battle Lannes, who was sitting with his legs crossed, was struck on the knee by a cannon ball which ricocheted off the ground just in front of him. He was removed to the rear and the surgeons decided that it was necessary to amputate his right leg. The Marshal bore the operation well. He was removed to Vienna, where he died a week later, from infection of the wound, which in those days before the discovery of antiseptics was difficult

to prevent. He was the first of the marshals to lose his life. At Saint Helena the Emperor said: "Lannes was a man of extraordinary bravery. As a general he was infinitely superior to Moreau and Soult." Napoleon was much affected by his death, which he regarded as a great personal loss.

At three o'clock on the morning of the 23 May, in a raging thunderstorm Napoleon and Berthier made in a small boat the perilous passage across the still rising waters of the Danube from Lobau to Ebersdorf. Here the Emperor is said to have slept for twenty-four hours. This is not probable in his case although he had had little if any sleep for two days and had been all the time in the thick of the fight. Napoleon, unlike some modern commanders, was not in the habit of conducting operations from a bomb-proof château many leagues from the front.

The operations in Italy began during the second week in April, after Archduke John arrived on the scene. Eugène was defeated and thrown back across the Piave to Caldiero east of Verona where Napoleon met his only reverse in the Campaign of Italy. John pursued but made no further attack. It was already known that the Archduke Charles had been driven from Bavaria, and John received orders to retreat. His first intention was to retire slowly, but when he heard of Napoleon's rapid advance on Vienna he hastened his march. He was closely followed by Eugène and Macdonald.

After Aspern both commanders employed the next few days in calling up reinforcements. Charles ordered two corps to join him, and directed John to fall back to Presburg. Napoleon drew in Bernadotte and Vandamme, and sent Eugène and Macdonald into Hungary to contain the Archduke John. Vigorously pursued by the Viceroy, John on the 14 June took up a position for action on the heights southeast of Raab, but was again worsted and

BATTLE OF WAGRAM

5th & 6th July 1809.

SHEET 2-6TH JULY

French Austrians

Cavalry Infantry Artillery

SCALE

English Miles.

1 ½ 0 1 2 3

forced to continue his retreat. He did not finally reach Presburg until the fourth of July.

Another side operation in the campaign was Marmont's march from Dalmatia to the Danube. Starting the last of April, after frequent encounters on the way, he finally reached Vienna on the third of July.

Napoleon had arranged to concentrate all of his forces at Vienna the last week in June, regardless of his communications, and all of his marshals were ordered up by forced marches. He left only some 35,000 men detached at various points, and on the fourth of July he was prepared to debouch into the Marchfeld with 175,000 men and 500 guns.

Charles was not so successful in drawing in his detached bodies and when the crisis developed he had 95,000 men at distant points and only 135,000 men and 400 guns in hand. His forces were grouped to strike at the French army while it was crossing the river, and before the operation was completed, as he had done at Aspern, or in case this plan failed to receive the enemy's attack at Wagram behind the Russbach.

Napoleon's plan was to effect the crossing as rapidly as possible and at an unexpected point. The army was once more to be concentrated in the Lobau and sent over in a mass by the southern end of the Stadler branch opposite the extreme left wing of the Austrians. The troops were to cross on ten pontoon bridges which were to be thrown over at the last moment, and the whole movement was to be covered by the numerous batteries which had been erected on the north shore of the Lobau and armed with 100 heavy guns.

During the month of June two very solid bridges protected by stockades had been built from the south shore over to the Lobau. An elaborate pretence was also made of preparations to cross at the old point opposite Aspern. The enemy fell into the trap and massed troops there.

When all his preparations were completed, on the evening of the fourth of July, in stormy weather that favored

secrecy, Napoleon sent his army across by the southern extremity of the Stadler branch. By noon the following day, incredible as it may seem, his whole army of about 150,000 men was in line of battle north of the Danube. During the first five days of July, punctual to a moment, the four corps of Davout, Marmont, Eugène and Wrede had all come up by forced marches and joined Napoleon at the Lobau.

When the day of battle arrived the Austrians on the field numbered 110,000 against Napoleon's 170,000 men.

Finding that the main body of the Austrians was assembled at Wagram behind the Russbach some six miles away Napoleon decided to advance into the Marchfeld. This movement was completed about six o'clock, and notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, the Emperor ordered an immediate attack on Wagram in order to pierce the Austrian line which was extended over a front of about ten miles. His tactical deployment was not complete, but he wanted to strike home before the Archduke had time to concentrate. The attempt however failed.

The grand-tactics of the battle on the following day were very similar to those of Austerlitz. The Archduke designed an enveloping attack from both wings. The right wing under Klenau advanced towards Aspern with the idea of cutting the French line of retreat to Lobau and Vienna. Masséna was ordered to incline to the left to meet him. At the same time the Austrians left under Rosenberg started out to drive back Davout on the French right so as to clear the road for the approach of Archduke John who was expected to arrive from Presburg. This movement failed and Rosenberg fell back again.

Then Napoleon ordered Davout to advance against the Austrian left which he rolled up until like the Russian wing at Eylau it stood at right angles to its earlier position. As soon as the Emperor saw that Davout had accomplished his task, he formed the corps of Macdonald into a solid column, supported by a 100-gun battery, and launched it against the Austrian centre. It was like a blow in the solar

plexus and the enemy reeled from the shock. This decided the battle, and by two o'clock the Austrians were in full retreat. Charles had put in all his men, and John's small corps was still ten miles away and could not be counted on. The Emperor still had in reserve Marmont's corps and the Guard, over 20,000 men. Charles, who was always cautious, deemed it wiser to preserve his beaten but by no means disorganized army and run no further risk. His conduct of the battle had been excellent.

Wagram, although a victory for Napoleon, was by no means as decisive as Austerlitz or Jena. The Emperor has been criticized for not pursuing the enemy with more vigor, but both he and his men were exhausted. They had had little or no sleep for two days and had been fighting for nearly thirty hours. The July day had been excessively hot, and the men had suffered much for lack of water. The three marshals who led the pursuit after Jena were absent: Murat and Ney were in Spain and Lannes was dead. Masséna had been injured by a fall from his horse two days before and conducted the operations of his corps from a *calèche*. His brilliant cavalry leader Lasalle was killed in the moment of victory. Bessières who commanded the cavalry of the Old Guard had a horse shot under him and was so shaken up by the fall that he had to turn over the command to a subordinate.

There were three lines of retreat open to the Archduke: by his left into Hungary where he could join his brother; back of his centre on Moravia, and to his right on Bohemia, where Prague would furnish him a base rich in supplies. For Napoleon it was best to cut Charles off from Hungary, and Wagram had been fought with this end in view. Charles chose the latter alternative and retired towards Znaim. Here five days after the battle he proposed an armistice which Napoleon immediately accepted.

In the Treaty of Schönbrunn signed the 14 October Napoleon dictated his own terms. The Emperor Francis gave up his only remaining seaport, Trieste; and Austrian Poland was added to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and

Salzburg to Bavaria. Besides losing three million and a half subjects, Austria had to pay an indemnity of eighty-five million francs.

Napoleon had never learned to follow the sage advice of old Frederick the Great, "Never maltreat an enemy by halves." "The only statesman-like alternatives," says Rose, "were, to win his friendship by generous treatment, or to crush him to the earth so that he could not rise to deal another blow." If Napoleon at this time had been as wise as was Bismarck after Sadowa two generations later, he might have converted his future father-in-law into a firm friend and ally who would have insured his dynasty, but his paramount thought was still the English *vendetta*. Russia, with her extensive seacoast, seemed to him of far more importance in his Continental System than land-locked Austria. He therefore preferred the uncertain alliance of Alexander to the almost certain friendship of Francis.

At Vienna in the summer of 1809 Napoleon stood at the parting of the ways and he took the wrong path. He no longer had the level-headed Talleyrand by his side to advise him.

When Napoleon left Paris on the 13 April he was accompanied by Joséphine as far as Strasbourg, where they arrived on the sixteenth at four o'clock in the morning, in the almost incredibly short time of three days. The fastest express now takes nine hours to make the run of 312 miles. At Strasbourg they said adieu and the Emperor immediately crossed the Rhine, while the Empress remained for several weeks. During the campaign Napoleon sent Joséphine from time to time brief notes telling of his health and his movements — very different from the burning letters of his first campaign. The increasing anxiety of Joséphine affected her health and in June she went to Plombières to take the waters. She was there a month later when she received the letters announcing the victory of Wagram and the truce of Znaim. She would

have liked to join the Emperor at Vienna, but he wrote her that the weather was very hot and advised her to go to Malmaison. He was enjoying the society of the lovely Marie Walewska and did not care for the company of his wife.

Napoleon left Schönbrunn on the 15 October before receiving news of the final ratification of the treaty of peace and proceeded to Munich. From there he sent a courier to announce his arrival at Fontainebleau on the evening of the twenty-seventh, on which date he wished to have the Court in residence there. But he travelled with such speed that he arrived thirty hours ahead of time and found no one except the concierge to receive him.

To pass the time he visited the new apartments of the château, which had been furnished with great magnificence. To Cambacérès who arrived earlier than the other courtiers he announced his fixed determination to repudiate Joséphine and marry a princess of Russia or of Austria.

On Joséphine's arrival from Saint-Cloud late in the afternoon she had a very cold reception from the Emperor; yet later they dined together and he was pleasant and almost gay. But at the end of the evening she discovered that the door of the private staircase which communicated with the apartment of the Emperor had been closed, and she knew then that the divorce was only a question of time.

More absolute and more imperious than ever Napoleon no longer allowed any contradiction in his family or from his ministers. Every one obeyed and kept silent. In the words of M. Thiers: "His personal aspect had remarkably changed at this period. From being sombre and thin, as he was formerly, he had become open, assured, *plein d'embonpoint*, without his face being less handsome. From being taciturn he had become a great talker. In a word his all-powerful nature had completely blossomed out, and it was to fade away like his fortune, for nothing stands still."

The only thing which troubled Napoleon in the midst

of all his prosperity was the fact that his immense empire had no heir. But with the divorce this would be remedied. He would marry the princess of his choice and she would bear him a son.

Since she had become Empress, Joséphine had given him no cause for reproach. She was a model of sweetness, of submission, of resignation and of fidelity. She endeavored constantly to meet his wishes, to anticipate his least desires, and Napoleon was really touched to see her so affectionate and so submissive.

When the Court left Fontainebleau the fourteenth of November Joséphine was not yet informed of her fate. Napoleon had not yet spoken, and she still had hope. They did not make the trip to Paris together as the Emperor rode most of the distance on horseback. On entering the capital at nightfall, after an absence of just seven months, Napoleon stopped at the Elysée to make a short call on the King of Saxony who had arrived the night before, and then went on to the Tuileries for dinner.

There was soon a regular assembly of crowned heads at Paris. Besides the King of Saxony, the King of Würtemberg, the King and Queen of Holland, the King and Queen of Westphalia, and the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, came to pay their court to the "sovereign of sovereigns." It was in the presence of so many princes that the cruel sacrifice of the divorce was to be consummated, and by the irony of fate the Court had never been so brilliant as at the moment that the Empress was to leave it forever.

Napoleon, usually so prompt to put his plans into execution, hesitated when the moment approached to break with the wife who for fourteen years had been associated with his destiny and who recalled the most brilliant days of his youth and his glory. The charm of the past came back and he could not make up his mind to break a heart so tender and so devoted. The Préfet du Palais, M. de Bausset, draws this sketch of Joséphine at the time of the divorce:

"The Empress was forty-six years old. No woman could have more grace of manner and bearing. Her eyes were enchanting, her smile full of charm, her voice of an extreme softness, her form noble, supple, perfect. Her toilettes were always elegant and in perfect taste and made her appear much younger than she really was. But all this was as nothing beside the goodness of her heart. Her *esprit* was amiable: never did she wound the *amour-propre* of any one, never had she anything disagreeable to say. Her disposition was always even and placid. Devoted to Napoleon, she communicated to him, without his perceiving it, her kindness and goodness."

Finally on the last day of November the Emperor decided to break to her the fatal news. This memorable scene, which Napoleon himself called a "tragedy," has been described by M. de Bausset, who was one of the spectators and even one of the actors. Napoleon and Joséphine had dined together in a room on the first floor adjoining his bed-chamber. Neither of them touched the dishes which were placed before them. After dinner they went into the room known as the Salon de l'Empereur between the Throne Room and the Galerie de Diane. When they were alone the Emperor decided to speak. He said that the safety of the Empire demanded a supreme sacrifice and that he counted on the courage of Joséphine to consent to a divorce to which he himself had had great difficulty in making up his mind. At the word "divorce" Joséphine burst into tears and fell as if in a swoon. The Emperor then called Bausset and they carried the Empress down the narrow and winding staircase to her apartment on the ground floor. Here they placed her on a sofa, and, after ringing for a maid, the Emperor retired with his eyes full of tears.

Friday evening the 15 December 1809 was the time chosen by the Emperor for the dissolution of his civil marriage. At nine o'clock all the sovereigns present at Paris and all of the grand dignitaries of the Empire assembled in the same salon where the news of the divorce

had been broken to Joséphine. The Emperor then read an address in which he spoke of the necessity for an heir to the throne and of the loss of hope that he could have children by his "beloved spouse the Empress Joséphine," which rendered necessary the dissolution of their marriage. Joséphine then read her statement in which she expressed her willingness to give this great proof of her attachment and devotion to the one who had crowned her and to whose kindness she owed everything.

The following day Joséphine left the Tuileries forever, to take up her residence at Malmaison. She kept the title of Empress and received an allowance of two million francs from the State.

The Emperor knew that it was useless to ask the Pope to recognize the divorce, but the Chancery of the Archbishop in Paris was not so difficult, and before the end of January 1810 that body declared his religious marriage null upon the ground of "moral coercion."

During the weeks immediately following the divorce Napoleon wrote Joséphine almost every day and visited her very frequently. On Christmas day they dined together at the Trianon, for the last time. The Emperor was very generous in the financial arrangements he made for his former wife. He gave her a million francs for repairs to Malmaison and for the purchase of silver and linen, and ordered another million advanced to her from her civil list for 1810 to pay her debts. He also gave his courtiers to understand that in no way could they afford him greater pleasure than by calling on the Empress. After this the road to Malmaison was once more covered with the carriages of visitors.

The first week in February Joséphine returned to Paris to reside at the Elysée which Napoleon had given her for a town house. This palace, built in 1718, had been the residence of Madame de Pompadour up to the time of her death. Condemned as national property during the Revolution it was bought in 1803 by Murat who sold it to Napoleon in 1808 at the time he became King of Naples.

It is now the official residence of the presidents of the French Republic.

But Joséphine's residence there was very short. When the news became known, the first of March, of the early arrival of Marie-Louise, she returned to Malmaison, and at the end of that month she went to the château of Navarre which the Emperor had given her. This château was a very large building but at the time in a bad state of repair. It was surrounded by an extensive park with magnificent trees. Before the Revolution it had been the property of the princes of Bouillon who received it from Louis the Fourteenth. Here Joséphine spent the month of April, and then returned to Malmaison. Later she made a visit to Aix-en-Savoie and to Geneva, and in November she returned to Navarre where she remained nearly a year.

In September 1811 Joséphine was once more back at Malmaison where she remained most of the time during the two following years. After his marriage the Emperor wrote her very rarely and paid her only a few visits. At the time the Allies entered Paris the last of March 1814, Joséphine went to Navarre for a month and then returned again to Malmaison. Here she was frequently visited by the Czar Alexander, and the other allied sovereigns, who showed her every possible courtesy. The last of May she became very ill, and a consultation of physicians decided that she had a very serious attack of quinsy for which there was no hope. On Sunday the 29 May 1814 she passed away, having nearly completed her fifty-first year.

"The Empress Joséphine," says Saint-Amand, "had merited, a very rare thing, the sympathies of all parties and the esteem of all nations. She had won the respect both of the patriots who defended France and of the strangers who invaded it. All classes spoke of her death with emotion. The cause of this universal tribute of regret is easy to find: Joséphine avait toujours été bonne."

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

1810–1811

MARIE-LOUISE

The Austrian Imperial Family — Joséphine Favors the Hapsburg Alliance — Napoleon Calls a Conference — The Russian Negotiations Abandoned — Contract Signed for Marriage with Marie-Louise — The Ceremony at Vienna — Marie-Louise at Compiègne — Her Personal Appearance — The Civil and Religious Marriages — Napoleon at Forty-one — Visit to Brussels — The Fêtes at Paris — The Schwarzenberg Ball — Birth of the King of Rome — The Private Baptism — Visit to Holland — The Empire at Its Zenith — Honors Bestowed upon the Marshals — The Légion d'Honneur — Value of the Marshals — The Common Soldiers — The Old Guard — Napoleon's Popularity with His Men

MARIE-LOUISE, Archduchess of Austria, was born at Vienna the 12 December 1791. She was the eldest child of the Archduke Francis, who a year after her birth, upon the death of his father Leopold the Second, became Emperor of Germany under the name of Francis the Second.

Leopold was the son of the great Empress Maria Theresa, and was the brother of Marie-Antoinette, Queen of France, and of Marie-Caroline, Queen of Naples.

Marie-Thérèse, the eldest daughter of the Queen of Naples, married her first cousin Francis, so Marie-Louise was the great-granddaughter of Maria Theresa on both her father's and her mother's side.

A sister of Marie-Thérèse married Louis Philippe, afterwards King of the French, and was the grandmother of the Comte de Paris; and her brother Francis married his cousin Marie-Clémentine, daughter of Leopold the Second, and their daughter became the wife of the Duc de Berry, son of Charles the Tenth of France, and was the mother of Comte de Chambord.

It thus appears, curious as it may seem, that the son

EMPRESS MARIE-LOUISE

of Napoleon and Marie-Louise, the Duke of Reichstadt, chief of the Imperial dynasty, the Comte de Chambord, head of the elder branch of the Bourbons, and the Comte de Paris, representative of the younger branch of the same family, were all three descendants in direct line from Maria Theresa, Empress of Germany, and her daughter Marie-Caroline, Queen of Naples.

What philosophical reflections come to the mind when one thinks of the fate of these three cousins, all born heirs to the throne of France, whose birth was announced by the booming of the cannon of the Invalides, but none of whom was destined to wear a crown!

As previously stated, the divorce of Joséphine was first officially discussed at the Erfurt meeting in September 1807. At that time Napoleon directed Talleyrand and Caulaincourt to sound Alexander regarding an alliance with one of his sisters. The response was equally vague and discreet. But a week after his return home his sister Catherine was affianced to the heir of the Duchy of Oldenburg. There could be no doubts in Napoleon's mind as to the significance of this event.

During the two following years, although Napoleon had not by any means abandoned the idea of repudiating Joséphine, the matter remained in abeyance. For a long time past there had existed in France a very general desire that the Emperor should assure the stability of the throne by contracting a new marriage and acquiring a direct heir to his dynasty. To this wish Napoleon was now ready to accede.

Neither before nor after the conclusion of the Peace of Vienna had there been a word exchanged with the Austrian Cabinet upon the subject of a matrimonial alliance. Napoleon's thoughts still turned to the Grand Duchess Anne, the other sister of the Czar. On the 22 November 1809, a week before the formal notification to Joséphine of his intentions, the Emperor instructed Champagny, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to send a dispatch to Caulaincourt, the French ambassador at Saint Petersburg,

directing him to ask the Czar to state frankly whether he "could count upon his sister." At that time it took two weeks for a courier to go from Paris to Saint Petersburg and Napoleon had received no reply to his demand when on the last day of November he informed Joséphine that the divorce was irrevocably decided.

A month later, no answer had yet come from Russia, and in the meantime no steps had been taken towards opening matrimonial negotiations with Austria. It is a very remarkable fact that it was Joséphine who took the initiative. On the second of January 1810 she asked the Comtesse de Metternich to come and see her at Malmaison.

Before the campaign of Wagram, Metternich, who was then a count, as his father Prince de Metternich was still living, had been the Austrian ambassador at Paris, where he had had much success both as a diplomat and as a man of the world. On the declaration of war, he had been recalled to Vienna but had left his wife in Paris. Since the peace he had been made Minister of Foreign Affairs in place of the bellicose Stadion.

To Madame de Metternich Joséphine said: "I have a plan for the Emperor to marry your Archduchess. I spoke to him about it yesterday, and he replied that his choice had not yet been definitely made. But I think that it would be if he were certain to be accepted by you."

Madame de Metternich, very much surprised at this overture, hastened to send the news to her husband in a letter written the following day.

The Russian reply was still awaited, and no official communications had been addressed to Austria, when the Emperor after mass on Sunday the 21 January 1810 called a meeting of the principal dignitaries of the Empire, to discuss the respective advantages and disadvantages of a matrimonial alliance with Russia, Austria or Saxony. The arch-chancellor, Cambacérès, and King Murat declared for the Grand Duchess Anne; Prince Eugène, Talleyrand, Champagny, Berthier, and Maret for the

Archduchess Marie-Louise, while Lebrun favored the daughter of the King of Saxony. Napoleon, at the end of the conference, gave no indication of his own preference. By a curious coincidence this discussion took place seventeen years to a day after the execution of Louis the Sixteenth, the husband of the great-aunt of Marie-Louise.

It is a striking instance of the shortness of human foresight that this Austrian marriage which was so warmly advocated by the ablest of Napoleon's counsellors, as destined to assure the safety of the Empire, was to be the cause of its fall. If he had not blindly counted upon the friendship of his father-in-law Napoleon would certainly never have undertaken the disastrous Russian campaign. As he afterwards said himself: his marriage with the archduchess was only an abyss covered with flowers.

On the sixth of February a dispatch was received from Caulaincourt in which he stated that he had not yet obtained a definite answer from the Czar. He added that the grand duchess, who was only fifteen, was not yet of an age to marry, and furthermore that she was not willing to change her religion. Napoleon hesitated no longer. He immediately broke off negotiations with Russia, and the same evening inquired of the Austrian ambassador, Prince de Schwarzenberg, whether the marriage contract with the Archduchess Marie-Louise could be signed the next day!

The ambassador was placed in a very embarrassing position. He knew that his Court was favorably disposed, but no one had thought events would move so rapidly and he had no definite instructions. Knowing the impatience of Napoleon, who never wished to be kept waiting, he assumed the responsibility and replied without hesitation that he was ready, and made an appointment with Champagny to sign on the following day at the Tuileries the contract for the marriage of the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, with the Archduchess of Austria, Marie-Louise. The contract, which was duly signed as arranged, was an almost exact copy of the marriage contract of

Marie-Antoinette signed forty years before. At the Court of the Tuileries the satisfaction was universal.

The courier dispatched by the Austrian ambassador brought the news to Vienna a week later. There the feeling was one of surprise rather than of pleasure. But no objections were raised in any quarter. The formal announcement was made in the government gazette under date of the 24 February.

The marriage was celebrated with great pomp on the 11 March in the Church of the Augustins, the Archduke Charles representing the Emperor Napoleon. Two days later the new Empress started on her journey to Paris. At the Bavarian frontier she was received by the ladies of her future household, who were to serve as her escort during the remainder of the journey.

On the 23 March Marie-Louise crossed the Rhine and arrived at Strasbourg on French soil. The Emperor had already been for three days at Compiègne where he awaited with impatience the arrival of his new wife. The château had been repaired and sumptuously refurnished, and the members of the Imperial family had arrived.

The formal meeting between the Emperor and Marie-Louise was to have taken place with much ceremony at a point between Soissons and Compiègne, but Napoleon could not restrain his impatience. All at once he decided to abandon the etiquette arranged for the following day and rush to meet her. With Murat as his only companion, he entered a modest *calèche* without armorial bearings, conducted by a servant without livery, and set out. It was raining in torrents when they arrived at Courcelles, where the Empress would stop to change horses. They descended from the carriage and took refuge from the rain under the porch of a church opposite the relay-station. No one in the village imagined that these two unknown travellers were the Emperor of the French and the King of Naples.

As soon as the carriage of the Empress arrived, Napoleon rushed to the door, and entering precipitately embraced

his wife. The carriage then continued its course with the Emperor and Murat and their wives. At ten o'clock they reached Compiègne. At the château the members of the Court were awaiting them at the foot of the staircase. Napoleon presented them to the Empress and then conducted her to her own apartment where they had supper together. According to the etiquette arranged in advance the Emperor was to have passed the night at the hôtel of the Chancellerie, but this program went the way of that of the first meeting, and Napoleon followed the example of Henri Quatre with Marie de Médicis.

"Marie-Louise," writes Méneval, "was then in all the bloom of youth; her form was perfect; her light chestnut hair, fine and abundant, framed a visage which was fresh and full, to which her soft eyes gave a charming expression; her lips which were somewhat large recalled the type of the reigning family of Austria, as the slightly aquiline shape of her nose made one think of the House of Bourbon."

The Court left Compiègne the last day of March and arrived at Saint-Cloud the same evening. Here the civil marriage was celebrated the following day, in the presence of nearly all the members of the Imperial family.

On Monday the second of April Napoleon and Marie-Louise went to Paris for the religious ceremony. They used the magnificent coronation carriage and were escorted by the cavalry of the Imperial Guard. The beautiful avenue of the Champs-Elyseés was lined with troops who kept back the crowds of enthusiastic spectators. They entered the Tuileries by way of the Gardens and ascended the grand stairway to the first floor. From there they passed by the Pavillon de Flore through the grand galleries of the Louvre to the Salon-Carré which had been transformed into a chapel for the religious ceremony.

Napoleon was very happy in his marriage, and was very devoted to his young wife. At this time he was not yet forty-one years of age. He had become much handsomer in his maturity than during his youth. He was much

less brusque in his manners and was far more amiable. He had become familiar with Court rules and etiquette and played his rôle of sovereign with all the talent and ease of a born actor. From being taciturn he had become a brilliant talker, with a command of language which surprised every one. When he wished to please, there was a charm in his smile which no one could resist. He endeavored not only to please but to fascinate his young wife. He was not only happy, but also proud to be allied with so old and so distinguished a family, and this feeling of satisfied pride gave him an evenness of temper, a serenity, a gaiety, which delighted his courtiers.

From Saint-Cloud the sovereigns went on the fifth of April to Compiègne, whence they departed at the end of the month for a triumphal tour through the northern departments. Their trip was a long ovation. They were accompanied by Jérôme and his wife, Caroline, Eugène, Schwarzenberg and Metternich.

During the course of their journey the Emperor and Empress spent several days at the château of Laeken near Brussels, and the Marquise de La Tour du Pin, whose husband was then prefect of that city, has given us in her "Recollections" an interesting account of this visit. She found Marie-Louise stupid and insignificant to the last degree, absolutely lacking in tact and *savoir faire*. On the contrary she was charmed with the Emperor, of whom she always speaks in the highest terms.

On the first of June they were back at Saint-Cloud where they passed the summer. The life of Napoleon at this time was one continual ovation. Never had Louis the Fourteenth, the "Roi Soleil," been so flattered in prose or in verse. Even his military adversaries had become his admirers. The most illustrious of them all, the Archduke Charles, wrote him in terms of the greatest admiration, in acknowledging the grand cordon of the Légion d'honneur, which the Emperor had sent him, accompanied by a simple cross of chevalier, of even greater value, because he had worn it himself.

During the month of June numerous fêtes were given in honor of the Emperor and Empress. That of the tenth of June given by the City of Paris was particularly brilliant. On the fourteenth a magnificent ball was given by the Princesse Pauline at her château of Neuilly. But the most beautiful, the most original and the most imposing of all was that of the Imperial Guard in the Champ-de-Mars.

The last of these grand entertainments was to be the ball of the Austrian ambassador, Prince de Schwarzenberg, on the first of July, at his hôtel in the Rue de la Chaussée-d'Antin. This was the former residence of the Marquise de Montesson, the widow of the old Duc d'Orléans, to whom this lady had been united by a morganatic marriage. As the *rez-de-chaussée* of the hôtel was too small to accommodate all of the guests, a large temporary ball-room had been built of wood. The Emperor and Empress and all of the *haute société* of Paris were present. A little after midnight when the ball was at its height the flimsy decorations of the ball-room caught fire from a flickering candle and the flames spread with terrible rapidity. The Emperor, who remained as calm as on the field of battle, urged all the guests to retain their presence of mind, and quietly escorted the Empress out by way of the gardens. But unfortunately many lost their heads and in the panic which ensued there were a number of victims to the flames, including the wife of the ambassador. Napoleon, after accompanying Marie-Louise as far as the Place de la Concorde, returned to the hôtel while the Empress went on to Saint-Cloud.

The Emperor remained at the hôtel, supervising the work there, exposed to a torrent of rain, until three o'clock in the morning.

This catastrophe produced a profound impression of sadness throughout the city. Many persons recalled the calamity which had overshadowed the fêtes at the time of the marriage of Marie-Antoinette forty years before, and saw in it an omen of ill-fortune.

Marie-Louise was also very happy in her married life. The Empress wrote her father at this time: "I assure you, dear papa, that the Emperor has been much calumniated. The more you see him *de près*, the more you appreciate and love him." The satisfaction of Napoleon was even greater when he learned that his young wife was *enceinte*. His joy had no bounds, and he was if possible even more attentive than before. The official statement of the coming event was not made until late in November.

The child, so earnestly desired, was born at nine o'clock on the morning of the 20 March 1811. An enormous crowd awaited in the Gardens of the Tuileries the news of the birth, which would be announced by the thunder of the cannon of the Invalides. If the child was a girl, only twenty-one shots would be fired: if a boy, one hundred and one. Suddenly the cannon began to boom. All the windows in the city are open. The carriages stop in the streets, and the pedestrians halt on the sidewalks. Every one counts the reports. At the twenty-second, there is an explosion of joy: every one knows that the Emperor has a son; at last there is an heir to the throne of France. It was the happiest day in the life of Napoleon. His eyes were filled with tears of joy.

The decree annexing the Papal states had made the Eternal City the second city in the Empire. In imitation of the ancient custom by which the prince destined to succeed to the German Cæsar was called the King of the Romans, Napoleon had decided that his son should be given the title of King of Rome.

The day of his birth the little King of Rome was privately baptized at nine o'clock in the evening in the chapel of the Tuileries. All of the Imperial family and the principal dignitaries of the State were present. The Marquise de La Tour du Pin has given in her "Recollections" a vivid description of the scene:

"We had had to enter by the Pavillon de Flore and pass through all the apartments, as far as the Salle des Maréchaux. The salons were full of the dignitaries of the Em-

pire, men and women. Every one endeavored to be at the edge of the passage-way, kept open by the ushers, where the procession was to pass to descend to the Chapel. We managed to manœuvre so as to find ourselves on the landing of the stairway. From this point we enjoyed a very rare sight, that of the old *grognards* of the Vieille Garde, arranged in order upon each step, every one wearing the cross upon his breast. They were forbidden to make a movement, but a very vivid emotion was depicted upon their stern faces, and I saw tears of joy in their eyes. The Emperor appeared at the side of Mme. de Montesquiou, who bore the child, with his face uncovered, upon a cushion of white satin covered with lace. I had the opportunity to obtain a good look at him."

On the 22 March when the Emperor received in the Throne Room of the Tuileries the great dignitaries of the State, the President of the Senate said:

"Your people salute with unanimous acclamations this new star which has arisen upon the horizon of France, whose first ray dissipates even the last shadows of the darkness of the future."

What sympathetic heart can avoid a feeling of sadness at the thought of how this "new star" was so soon to disappear below the horizon; of how this little King of Rome was to be deprived not only of his royal title, but even of his name of Napoleon Bonaparte; that he was destined to be called only Francis, Duke of Reichstadt, and to be laid to his eternal rest in the Church of the Capuchins at Vienna, in an Austrian uniform!

Shortly after his return from Wagram, Napoleon made the remark, "En voilà assez du métier de soldat, le temps est arrivé de faire celui du roi." During the years 1810 and 1811 it was generally believed that France had seen the end of wars for the rest of his reign. The victor in so many campaigns seemed to be ambitious only for the glories of peace.

On the 19 September the Emperor left Compiègne for

an extended tour to Belgium, Holland and the banks of the Rhine. Three days later the Empress with her Court set out for the château of Laeken near Brussels. The Emperor was to rejoin her the last of the month at Antwerp after a visit to the ports on the Channel.

On the ninth of October the sovereigns entered Amsterdam in state. Here the Court remained for two weeks. The company of the Théâtre Français had been summoned from Paris, and Talma appeared in his best rôles. The people of Holland had been much dissatisfied since the abdication of King Louis the previous year, which had been followed by a rigid enforcement of the Continental System. The Low Countries had been annexed to the Empire, and Lebrun was the governor-general. The more the Hollanders were discontented, the more the Emperor was determined to win their regard. He gave his entire time to the study of their wants and wishes with the idea of improving their condition.

The first of November they left for Cologne, whence they returned by way of Liège to Compiègne, and were back at Saint-Cloud the last of November, after a trip of nearly three months, the longest which the Emperor ever made to the French provinces.

At the beginning of the year 1812 Napoleon was at the height of his glory. To the democratic period of the earlier days of the Empire had succeeded an aristocratic régime. The words "République Française" had disappeared from the coins, which now bore the legend "Empire Français." The Emperor posed as the new Charlemagne, the chief of a family of sovereigns. The kings of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, Westphalia, Naples and Spain owed to him their royal crowns. The reigning princes of the Confederation of the Rhine were his subservient vassals. No monarch in history had ever held sway over so many lands and so many peoples. From the Baltic to the Strait of Gibraltar, from the Channel to the Adriatic, his will was law.

The grand dignitaries and marshals of the Empire con-

cealed their plebeian names under the titles of dukes and princes, even of kings. Lefebvre, a miller's son, was Duc de Dantzic; Augereau, the son of a mason, was Duc de Castiglione; Ney, a cooper's son, was Duc d'Elchingen; Masséna, the son of a publican, was Prince d'Essling; Berthier, whose father was a steward at Versailles, was the sovereign Prince de Neufchâtel and married to a Bavarian princess, and Murat, the son of an innkeeper, was King of Naples.

All of the marshals were provided with magnificent dotations to sustain their titles. Berthier possessed an income of over a million francs, without counting the revenues from his principality; Masséna had an income of eight hundred thousand in addition to his salary of two hundred thousand as marshal; and so with the others.

The Emperor also gave them fine hôtels in the city and magnificent estates in the country.

In addition to the titles of prince or duc which commemorated decisive battles, like Rivoli, Montebello, Essling and Wagram, other duchés, granting no territorial authority, but provided with an annual dotation of sixty thousand francs, were given to marshals and generals.

In order to bind his companions-in-arms more firmly to his throne and dynasty, Napoleon married them to the richest heiresses in France.

Other officers of lower rank received the title of comte or baron with smaller dotations; for example, Lasalle had fifty thousand francs; Junot, eighty; Rapp and Savary each over a hundred thousand francs.

In addition to these magnificent incomes the Emperor distributed other rewards. After his return from Tilsit in 1807 he divided eleven million francs among his marshals and generals of division. Every officer was to receive from one to three thousand napoléons "with which to amuse himself during a few days in Paris."

Promotions, titles and wealth were the allurements held out before every one in the army. To these substantial rewards of position and money, as a means of recompens-

ing his army, Napoleon added others in which imagination played a leading part. Chief among these was the Légion d'honneur, which even to-day is the most highly esteemed decoration in the world. The order was divided into five classes: chevaliers, officiers, commandeurs, grands officiers and grands-croix. Ranks in the Légion were high honors which were not distributed indiscriminately. "Bulletins, orders of the day, words of praise, a more affectionate manner or smile — one of those charming smiles which won the hearts of generals as much as those of simple grenadiers — were still other means adopted by Napoleon to give his army a final increase of energy, incentive and dash."

The impulsion thus given was at first irresistible. But the time came when the marshals and generals wanted to enjoy their honors and their wealth at home in peace, and no longer cared for the danger and fatigue of campaigns from which they had little further to gain. Then this appeal to selfish interests reacted upon himself and had not a little to do with his final downfall. But what consummate art he showed in handling and influencing men and in forming them into the finest army in the world!

Although Napoleon never clearly expressed his opinion regarding the value of his marshals, he certainly established differences among them and graded them with regard to intelligence, character, and ability for independent command. This is clearly shown in the tasks allotted to the different marshals and the number of divisions assigned to their command. Masséna, Soult and Davout were the only ones he considered competent for chief command. Ney, "the bravest of the brave," and Murat, the *beau sabreur*, were essentially fighters. Lannes was an excellent corps commander: "He was superior to all the generals of the French army on the field of battle when it was a question of manœuvring 25,000 infantry men."

Of all the generals of the Revolution, Hoche, Desaix and Kléber were the only ones he thought might have gone far. He had a very poor opinion of Moreau.

Napoleon always seems to have preferred officers of brilliancy and dash, like Ney and Murat, to men of more solid and methodical characters, like Davout and Saint-Cyr. To the Emperor, Davout's brilliant victory at Auerstädt was a revelation, and his splendid work at Eylau and Wagram could but magnify his worth.

The Emperor was also slow to appreciate the firmness of character, joined to great intelligence, which distinguished Gouvion-Saint-Cyr, who did not receive his bâton until 1812. Marbot, who was under his orders during the Russian campaign, says: "He was one of the most capable military men in Europe. I have never known any one who directed his troops better on the field of battle. It was impossible to find a calmer man." Yet, chiefly owing to political reasons, he was always given a secondary place by the Emperor.

But Napoleon's great victories were not due entirely to the brilliancy of his strategy and tactics, and the ability of his marshals and generals. Much credit must also be given to his soldiers, who were the best in Europe. Coming from the most martial nation on earth, they were formed by the Emperor into the greatest fighting machine the world has ever known. Napoleon had the power of animating the common soldier and filling him with enthusiasm; he was in the highest degree an inciter of energy. "He spared no pains," says Mme. de Rémusat, "to encourage and satisfy his soldiers." All the material and moral means at his disposal were employed with this object in view. "Probably no leader of an army," says Vachée, "gave more orders than Napoleon to assure the upkeep and subsistence of his armies."

While the tendency in modern armies is to make everything uniform, the Emperor created picked corps among his troops in order to further stimulate the feeling of emulation. The best known of these favored organizations were the Guards. The Old Guard, whom the men called the "Immortals," because they were rarely sent into

action, were better paid, better fed and better clothed than the common soldiers. The Young Guard also received high pay and shared the renown of its elder. All the regiments were jealous of this sacred body of troops, which, in addition to their material advantages and fascinating renown, had the honor of daily watching over the security of the Emperor and of being his supreme resource in battle. "His soldiers," says Méneval, "never ceased to become enthusiastic about him, to come under his charm, and to obey his will." Although he was finally abandoned by many of his marshals, whom he had loaded with favors, the common soldiers remained faithful to the end, and loved him when he was no longer there.

In his "Mémoires," Méneval thus explains the secret of Napoleon's mysterious power:

"The study of the human heart had taught him the art of attaching men to him and subjugating them. His presence and words aroused enthusiasm. His eloquence was earnest and rapid; his words were energetic, profound, and often sublime. His simple exterior, heightened by an air of grandeur and the habit of command, and the fascination of his look, inspired respect, mingled with fear and affection. No leader in history was more popular, and yet never would he consent to humble himself to acquire that popularity."

Although he might hold himself aloof in his grandeur from the marshals, the relations between the Emperor and the humble companions who shared his glory were always familiar and cordial. He was like a father with his children. To them he never ceased to be "Le petit caporal."

CZAR ALEXANDER

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

1812

MOSCOW

The Peninsula War — The Lines of Torres Vedras — Effects of the Continental System — Friction with Russia — War Inevitable — Advance of the Grand Army — Preparations for the Campaign — The Commanding Officers — Napoleon at Dresden — The Russian Plans — The French Cross the Niemen — The Advance to Smolensk — Heavy Losses — Battle of Smolensk — The Victory Indecisive — Napoleon Marches on Moscow — Battle of Borodino — A Pyrrhic Victory — The French Enter Moscow — The City Burned — Napoleon's Fatal Delay — The Retreat Begun — The New Route Abandoned — Beginning of Winter — Arrival at Smolensk — A New Route to Vilna — The Passage of the Beresina — The Army Recrosses the Niemen — Napoleon Leaves for Paris — Reasons for Failure

BUT little space can be given to the military and political events of the two years preceding the Russian war. After the Wagram campaign, Napoleon would have done well to return to Spain, but he remained at Paris, where he could better supervise the Continental System, and devote himself to Marie-Louise and a round of fêtes and provincial visits. In the meantime the Peninsula War dragged out its weary length. Soult, and later Masséna, were put in command there with abundant reinforcements. King Joseph thought that the pacification of the country would be brought about more speedily by the occupation of Andalusia, while Napoleon's opinion was that the English should be attacked at Lisbon and driven out of Portugal, when the insurrection in Spain would end for lack of support. Unfortunately he allowed himself to be overpersuaded by his brother. In 1810 Soult conquered and occupied Andalusia, but the 60,000 men employed there could have been used to better advantage elsewhere.

Thus it happened that the whole task of driving out Wellington fell on Masséna. For his descent into Portugal in May 1810, Masséna had about 75,000 men, including the corps of Ney, Junot and Reynier. Wellington fell back behind the celebrated lines of Torres Vedras which he had been preparing for months before. These lines were constructed on the heights north of Lisbon about twenty miles from the capital, where the four main roads from the north and east converged. They were practically impregnable against any force Masséna could bring against them. After spending five months before these works, Masséna was obliged to retreat just as Soult was finally coming to his assistance. So the whole operation against Lisbon failed through lack of coöperation and unity of leadership. This would never have happened if Napoleon had gone to Spain.

Masséna, followed by Wellington, retired to Salamanca, where he put his troops into quarters. In June 1811 Marmont took over the command from Masséna with orders to join Soult and renew the attack on Lisbon. Nothing definite, however, was accomplished.

Early in 1812, before entering on the Russian campaign, Napoleon decided to withdraw 60,000 seasoned troops from Spain, and to content himself with the occupation of the provinces north of the Ebro, which had been annexed to the Empire. This wise plan was opposed by Joseph and the marshals in Spain, and once more, most unfortunately for him, the Emperor allowed himself to be won over by their arguments. He left nearly 300,000 men in Spain: under the command of Joseph, in and around Madrid; of Soult, in Andalusia; of Marmont, near Salamanca, and of Suchet in Valencia. At this time Wellington had an army of about 140,000 English, Portuguese and Spanish troops, and there were over 100,000 more Spaniards acting independently.

At the end of 1810, England seemed on the verge of ruin from the strangling grip of the Continental System. The three per cent. consuls had fallen to 25, and the bank-

ruptcies averaged 250 a month. But this year was to see the climax of this great commercial experiment. In July 1810 Louis was practically forced to abdicate as King of Holland. He had taken into his head the strange notion that he reigned by divine right, and refused to carry out the orders of his brother. When twenty thousand French troops were approaching Amsterdam to bring him to reason, he suddenly abandoned his throne and fled to Bohemia. On the ninth of July, Holland was annexed to the Empire, and the commercial decrees were executed as rigorously at Rotterdam as at Havre.

At the close of the year the commercial system was extended to the Baltic, by the annexation of Oldenburg, the northern parts of Hanover and Westphalia, and Bremen, Hamburg and Lübeck. Nothing less than the most rigorous enforcement of the Continental System could suffice Napoleon; for it was a characteristic feature of this enterprise that its entire success depended on the completeness with which it was put into execution: one gap would render useless the whole barrier so laboriously constructed.

Nevertheless, English goods, by many devious routes, still reached the Continent, and in one way or another, with infinite discomfort and friction, trade was still carried on.

It is strange that Napoleon never thought of cutting off the export of food-stuffs to England. He apparently had the notion that the more the British bought, the sooner they would be bankrupt. As Rose states, "the outlook would have been hopeless had not our great enemy allowed us to import continental corn, if besides lack of work and low wages there had been the added horrors of a bread famine."

In the main the Continental System was popular in France, and the people endured the high prices, and the lack of English goods, and of staples like sugar, coffee, rice and tobacco, carried in British ships. At this time the Emperor was delighted at the noteworthy discovery that sugar could be extracted from beet-root. Pride in the

national glory, and hatred of England, led the French to endure without complaint increased taxes, high prices, and even chicory.

For Germany the hardships were far greater and the benefits far less, and the unpopularity of the Continental System was one of the principal underlying causes of the national uprising in 1813.

Upon Russia also the influence of the System was more and more oppressive. Napoleon's complaints of the Russian laxity of administration were constant. Another cause of friction was the annexation of Oldenburg. The heir to this duchy had married Alexander's elder sister, Catherine, for whose hand Napoleon had negotiated at Erfurt. The deposition of the duke was not only a personal affront, it was a violation of the Treaty of Tilsit. But even before the news of this event reached Russia, the Czar himself broke the treaty. Instead of admitting on easy terms, as arranged at Tilsit, the *articles de luxe* of French manufacture, he levied a heavy duty on them. When called to account by Napoleon, Alexander pleaded the economic needs of his country, and protested his fidelity to the Continental System, while at the same time calling attention to the Oldenburg grievance. But Napoleon would not listen. "Here is a great planet taking a wrong direction," he exclaimed, "I do not understand its course at all." To bring this planet back into its orbit, half a million men were to perish amidst the snows of Russia, and Napoleon was to die an exile at Saint Helena!

Although there were many subsidiary reasons for the breach with the Czar, the real cause of the war was Napoleon's determination to force Russia to accept the conditions of the Continental Blockade in order to destroy England's trade and commerce. It was not his ambition for absolute sovereignty in Europe which carried him to Moscow, but the undying *vendetta.*

For two years it had been evident that a break with Russia must come sooner or later, and Napoleon had been steadily preparing himself during this time. He secured

the alliance of Austria and compelled Prussia to furnish him troops and supplies.

The Czar also foresaw the war and made preparations for it. The Russians, however, had no formal plan, but merely proposed to act on the defensive. They were in doubt as to whether they should meet the attack by advancing to the Vistula or await it behind their own frontiers. The strategy which they afterwards employed so successfully was the result of circumstances rather than any preconceived plan.

After the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 the Russian army had been entirely reorganized, and under the new plan should have produced in 1812 an active army of half a million men with double that number in reserve. But when the army was mobilized on the frontier in the spring of that year it was found that there were less than 250,000 men.

Napoleon moved his Grand Army to the line of the Vistula during the months of February, March and April. This field army consisted of thirty-one infantry and twenty-seven cavalry divisions and numbered 450,000 men, including 50,000 cavalry and 1000 guns. This force was organized in nine *corps d'armée* under the command of Davout, Oudinot, Ney, Eugène, Poniatowski, Gouvion-Saint-Cyr, Reynier, Vandamme and Macdonald. An additional corps of 33,000 men under Victor came up later, and an eleventh corps of 47,000 was in reserve at Berlin and Mayence under the command of Augereau.

Transportation was organized on the largest scale. Every possible source had been drawn on for supplies. Nothing was neglected. One thing only Napoleon had apparently forgotten since his campaign in Poland: the fact that there were no roads worthy of the name in Russia. There were too many wagons, and far too many servants. There were also many women, the "love escort" which was tolerated in the armies of the Republic and the Empire. At the very outset it seemed as if the expedition would be destroyed by its impedimenta. Still if Napoleon had been able to bring on a battle near the frontier, or had

adhered to his original plan not to go beyond Smolensk the first year, all might have gone well.

More than half of the cavalry were French, and nearly all of the artillery, but less than half of the infantry arm. In this enormous number of foreigners there were Italians, Germans and Poles, and even battalions of Swiss, Spanish, Portuguese and Croats. The Prussian and Austrian contingents operated by themselves on either wing. The French element was large enough to leaven the batch, and the failure of the campaign cannot be laid to the indiscipline of the common soldiers, although some of the marshals and division commanders, who were weary of war, failed to do their full duty.

The Emperor was accompanied by a host of executives, including Berthier, Chief of Staff; Lebrun, Mouton and Rapp, aides de camp; Daru, Secretary of State; Maret, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Caulaincourt and Duroc; Méneval and Fain, private secretaries, and Jomini, historiographer.

Berthier as usual was the efficient mouth-piece of the Emperor. Jérôme and Eugène were in command because of their relationship, but the latter was an able leader. Davout and Ney had proved their worth in previous campaigns. Bessières, Oudinot, Saint-Cyr, Victor and Junot were good corps commanders. Soult, Marmont and Suchet were still in Spain, and Masséna had retired in broken health after his failure there. Lefebvre commanded the Old Guard, of nearly 50,000 men in all, while Murat was at the head of the large cavalry reserve of 40,000 horsemen.

On the ninth of May, Napoleon, accompanied by Marie-Louise and a large part of his Court, left Saint-Cloud for Dresden, where he arrived a week later. Here he expected to make a stay of two or three weeks, before putting himself at the head of his troops, and to receive the visits of all the allied sovereigns. The first morning the princes who had already arrived called to present their homage to the Emperor, who was lodged in the state apartments of the royal palace. The second day, the Emperor and Em-

Kronstat
L. Ladoga
ST. PETERSBURG
Novgorod
Heights of Waldai
L. Seleger
Tver
Klin
Federowskoe
Parowskoe
MOSKVA OR MOSKOW
Borodino
Mojaisk
Gridnewa
Gutsk
Wiasma
Semenowskoe
Kaiasa
Mineivo
Wedolsk
Feminskoe
Winkowo
Kolomna
Borodino
Taroutino
Medinsk
Serpukor
Male Jaroslawitz
Kaloujan
Toula
Ugra
Smolensko
Valentina
Jelnia
Roudnia
Polotsk
Lucolowo
Drissa
Bictaia
Goriany
Uchatchi
Ghubolioe
Vitepsk
Ostrowno
Inkowo
Doksitzy
Kamen
Basasma
Duiwer
Baranowi
Lochnitza
Tchekanowo
Rostavl
Mstislavl
Mohilev
Minsk
Nesvige
Romanov
Dobrinek
Bukicha
Nov Bychov
Chuhui
Polotsk
Dwina
Volga
Oka
Don
Dniepr
Beresina
Lukomla
Tchitchagow
Platow
Wittgenstein
Duke of Dalmatia
Duke of Reggio
Duke of Belluno
Duke of Treviso
Duke of Elchingen
Prince Eugene
Prince Poniatowski
Prince Schwartzenberg
Prince Jerome
Prince Eugene
Grand Army
Grand Reyniers
Grand Reyniers
Grand Reyniers

press of Austria arrived, to the great joy of Marie-Louise, who had not seen her father since her marriage two years before.

The sojourn at Dresden was the apogee of the power of Napoleon. No mortal had ever before reached such a pinnacle of glory as the new Charlemagne. The assembled sovereigns appeared to be the courtiers rather than the equals of the Emperor. His *lever*, says Ségur, furnished a remarkable spectacle, where sovereigns came to attend the audience of the conqueror of Europe.

At Saint Helena the Emperor, in recalling the memories of these passed splendors, said: "The Dresden meeting was the epoch of the greatest power of Napoleon. There he seemed to be the King of Kings." He had summoned from Paris the company of the Théâtre Français, and as at Erfurt Talma played before a "parterre de rois."

But Napoleon was far from being entirely taken up with pleasure while at Dresden. He was occupied with the many minute details of the immense expedition which he was about to undertake.

Just before Napoleon left Dresden, the King of Prussia arrived. He had agreed to furnish for the coming campaign twenty thousand men under the command of a Prussian general. As for Austria, she had promised a contingent of thirty thousand troops, commanded by an Austrian general, under the orders of Napoleon.

The 29 May 1812 Napoleon left Dresden to place himself at the head of his army. After a stop of two days at Posen, he proceeded to Thorn, and from there to Dantzic. By long marches the troops had reached the Vistula where they were spread out on a front of four hundred miles. This plan had been adopted by the Emperor with the design of keeping the Russians uncertain as to his main line of advance, and resulted as he wished in their separating their armies.

The numbers of the Russian armies are hard to determine, but they probably amounted to less than 250,000 men. With these forces they were to meet half a million invaders under the greatest captain of modern times. The

statement has often been made that the Russians expected to meet the French advance by a constant retreat, and that Alexander had said that before yielding he would abandon Moscow and retire into Siberia. But the fact remains that the Russian generals expected to fight, and that the defensive campaign was the result of the Russian unpreparedness at the beginning, and the overwhelming superiority of the French forces. Thus it happened that the very size of Napoleon's army was to be the principal reason for his failure. It was physically impossible to keep such an enormous host supplied, and the great discrepancy in numbers made the Russians afraid to risk a battle.

"From a military point of view," says Dodge, "the retiring scheme of the Russians against a stronger and more able foe was the best. But the Czar had to look at some political questions. If a system of retreat was adopted, the Polish provinces would fall away from their allegiance, and the opposition of the anti-war party might be grave, as well as the effect upon friendly nations."

There were but three roads leading across the Russian frontier by which the main part of the Grand Army could advance: at Kovno and Grodno on the Niemen, and further south and west at Brest Litovsk on the Bug. During the winter the Russian troops had been spread out over a front of five hundred miles, but in May when the French approached the Vistula, the troops drew together into two large bodies, under Barclay and Bagration, with headquarters at Vilna and Lutsk. These two armies were separated by the morasses of the upper Pripet, and their distance from each other was due to the broad front of Napoleon's advance. As soon as it became apparent that Napoleon was marching on the Niemen, the Czar withdrew troops from Bagration and strengthened Barclay's army at Vilna to 130,000 men, while Bagration with 50,000 troops came up to Volkovisk south of Grodno. The two Russian armies thus stood across the three roads to Moscow.

Napoleon does not seem to have had any particular

plan of campaign beyond the general idea of finding the Russian army, and as at Austerlitz winning "not an ordinary victory." Metternich states in his "Memoirs" that the Emperor told him at Dresden that in his first campaign he did not expect to go beyond Smolensk.

In the Russian camp there were as many plans of campaign as there were leaders. Barclay favored awaiting the French on Russian soil and then fighting; Bagration wanted to hold the line of the Niemen and at the same time invade the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; the Czar proposed a policy of retreat.

Having learned in a general way of the location of the two Russian armies, Napoleon's first plan was to break in between Barclay and Bagration by an advance on Vilna through Kovno. The Grand Army began its movement from the Vistula on the sixth of June and reached the Niemen eighteen days later.

Napoleon immediately crossed the river without meeting with any resistance. He then advanced rapidly to Vilna, covering the distance of sixty miles in four days. He was disappointed, however, in taking the First Army by surprise, as they retreated rapidly on his approach. The roads were almost impassable, and guns and wagons were continually embedded in the mud.

After waiting three days to obtain information about the enemy's movements, on the first of July Napoleon decided to advance due east. In the meantime the two Russian armies had continued their retreat towards Smolensk where they effected a junction on the third of August.

Both sides had lost about one third of their numbers in the first five weeks of the campaign, the French from disease and the Russians from wholesale desertion. The French troops had advanced so rapidly that the supply trains, floundering in muddy roads, could not keep pace with them. The men consequently lived to a large extent on meat, which they found everywhere, and fresh-cut corn, which they either baked roughly or boiled in water.

In a short time there was an epidemic of enteric diseases. At the end of July the Emperor was compelled to call a halt for eight days on account of the exhaustion of his troops and to allow the supply trains to come up.

After the two Russian armies had met at Smolensk, Barclay found himself compelled by the growing discontent among his troops to offer battle. So on the seventh of August he moved west towards the French. After a two days' march he came upon the enemy's outposts, but here his courage failed him at the thought of attacking Napoleon in person, and he came to a halt.

On learning of this movement Napoleon decided to march south to the Dnieper, cross the river and advance by the south bank to a surprise attack upon Smolensk and so force Barclay to give battle. This plan was carried out so effectively that the Russians remained in entire ignorance of the movement. On the 17 August Napoleon appeared before the city, which two Russian corps hastily occupied, and to which Barclay fell back with all possible speed.

On the following evening Napoleon moved forward to the attack and bombarded the town. Barclay found it impossible to hold the place, so he evacuated it during the night and retreated to the north bank of the river. This left the road to Moscow open, but in spite of the vigorous pressure of the French he managed to get back on to the road the following evening and secure his line of retreat eastward.

The city of Smolensk lies on the south bank of the Dnieper, in a beautiful amphitheatre of hills, with the suburb of Saint Petersburg on the opposite bank. The place is difficult of defence as it is commanded by the surrounding heights. The city proper was fortified with a brick wall ten feet thick and twenty-five feet high, with a useless dry ditch. The walls would easily resist the field guns of that period, and could hardly be escaladed.

It was an old sacred city, with numerous churches and convents and many gardens. The houses in the suburbs

were nearly all of wood. It was one of the oldest cities in Russia, and had at one time contained eighty thousand inhabitants but had dwindled to not more than a quarter of that number. The river was crossed by a wooden bridge, and from the north bank ran the main roads to Moscow and Saint Petersburg.

Assuming the Emperor's design to have been the capture of Smolensk, his manœuvre had been well conducted; but this was only an incident: the real object was to seize the Moscow road, cut off the Russian army, and compel it to fight at a disadvantage. This he failed to accomplish. "By extending his right across the river and establishing a corps suitably supported upon the Moscow road," says Dodge, "the longed-for battle could be forced, or the enemy thrown back on the Saint Petersburg road, eccentrically to his true line of retreat. . . . For three days the strategically worthless town had arrested the Grand Army when time was of the essence."

Smolensk was the natural terminus of the campaign of 1812, where Napoleon had first intended to stop, and where he should have stopped and put his army into quarters. As he was draining the supplies from a large part of the empire, the Russians would sooner or later have been compelled to advance and attack him. If for political reasons he was unwilling to retreat, this was the only sound military course open to him. His situation was not dissimilar to that in Poland during the winter of 1807 before Friedland. Although he could probably reach Moscow, there was no certainty that he could bring on a decisive battle there and dictate peace to the Czar. Even if he reached Moscow he must have known that he could not maintain himself there with a line of communications over five hundred miles long. Of the large force with which he crossed the Niemen he had less than half left. At Smolensk, from the military point of view, there was still hope; at Moscow there was none. The situation is well summarized by Dodge as follows:

If Napoleon stopped at Smolensk, he ran a certain risk of political damage; if he advanced to Moscow all military chances were against him. But with an army at Smolensk he could personally return to France, organize a fresh campaign, and in 1813 be better equipped for an advance, for he would have time to prepare proper transportation. This plan offered him a show of success, political and military. The advance on Moscow now could succeed only if Alexander could be intimidated by a show of military power Napoleon no longer possessed. Yet Jomini and Clausewitz both approve Napoleon's decision as his only proper course. It is difficult to agree with these eminent authorities.

Napoleon still had about 150,000 men actually in hand when he left Smolensk. He followed closely upon the heels of the retreating Russians, who had now been reinforced to 120,000 men. The Czar, who was disappointed with Barclay's Fabian tactics, which were ultimately to bring him success, now appointed Kutusov to succeed him, with instructions to accept the battle for which every one was longing. Kutusov will be remembered in connection with the Austerlitz campaign. He was now seventy, too portly to ride, and very inactive.

A few days later, when the army reached Borodino, it was decided to take up a position there to cover Moscow. There were two post-roads from Smolensk to Moscow, an old one and a new one, which were here about two and a half miles apart. The village of Borodino lay on the new road where it crossed the Kolotsa, an affluent of the Moskova. Here Kutusov drew up his troops on a frontage of over five miles at right angles to the two roads.

The country is rolling but quite flat; the numerous brooks run through deep ravines. There were many woods, some of which had been cut. The Kolotsa runs for several miles parallel to the new road until near Borodino it crosses and leaves it to flow northerly towards the Moskova. The river is fordable in places. East of the village the land rises into a plateau a mile wide. Some

BATTLE OF BORODINO

7th September 1812.

French Russians

Infantry Cavalry Artillery

SCALE

English Miles

0 1 2

simple field-works had been erected by the Russians. The position was liable to be turned, but it was also one easy to defend. Between the two roads there are a number of hamlets and villages, the principal one being Semenovskai.

Napoleon after a short halt to give his men a rest continued his advance in three columns. On the fifth of September the leading troops of his right and centre columns came in contact with the Russian left wing and forced it back. The following day Napoleon advanced to the attack. His left wing under Eugène kept close to the new road and was massed against Borodino. The centre column moved towards Semenovskai, and further south the right wing under Poniatowski advanced along the old road. The whole frontage was about three miles and a half.

In the battle of Borodino, fought on the seventh of September, the French numbered 130,000 against 120,000 Russians. Napoleon's plan was quickly formed after a reconnoissance of the enemy's position. On the left Eugène was to contain Kutusov's right; Davout and Ney in the centre were to break down his left wing, while Poniatowski on the right should turn his left flank. The object was to throw the Russians back on the Moskova where he could fight them to a finish. The French showed the utmost courage, and the Russian defence was very stubborn. The losses on both sides were enormous. It was certainly a French victory, as Kutusov in the end drew off his army in broken condition and retreated towards Moscow, sixty miles away. It enabled Napoleon to reach the sacred city, but his losses were so great that he could not remain there unless the Czar treated for peace. The Emperor did not put in the Guard, his final reserve, which might have made the victory decisive and caused Alexander to open negotiations. For this Napoleon has been much criticized by military writers; but he was two thousand miles from home and the Old Guard was his last resource. Whether he was right or wrong will always be a subject of discussion. At the decisive moment, about the middle of the afternoon, if he had sent in this superb body of picked

troops, still twenty thousand strong, with which he had so many times struck a decisive blow at the critical moment, he might have made Borodino a crushing Russian defeat. On the other hand, had he put in his last reserves without success, as later at Waterloo, his army would have been a flying mob in half an hour. At Borodino his motto was "safety first"; at Waterloo he was playing all for all.

After the battle the Russians retreated slowly to Moscow, followed by the French. The victors were too much exhausted to pursue with the vigor of former campaigns. In front of Moscow, Kutusov called a council of war to decide whether the city should be defended, and the vote was in favor of fighting to the death. But Kutusov thought that the army was more important to Russia than the city and refused to be bound by the council. On the 14 September he marched through the city and retired to Panki. At the same time most of the population departed. Murat and his cavalry arrived at two o'clock the same afternoon and took possession of the city. The Guard, when it arrived, was sent in to occupy the Kremlin; Ney and Davout took up a position west of the city, Poniatowski on the south, and Eugène to the north. Murat was stationed on the road to the southeast. The Imperial headquarters were established temporarily in the west suburb.

Moscow, like Rome, lies upon seven hills. It was the "sacred city" of Russia, and its two hundred churches, with colored domes and belfries, gave it a most picturesque appearance, more Oriental than European in its aspect.

During the first night fires began to break out, and by the morning of the second day the whole city was aflame. The Emperor, who had taken up his quarters in the Kremlin, was forced to retire to a castle outside the walls of the city. On the eighteenth, after some eight thousand houses had been consumed, the fire was controlled and Napoleon returned to the Kremlin.

It will always be a disputed question whether Moscow

was deliberately set afire by the Russians or whether the conflagration was due to accidental causes, but the latter was probably the case. In a city built entirely of wood, in possession of a marauding army, fires might easily be started by carelessness, and the equinoctial gales did the rest.

It was at this time that Napoleon made the most fatal error of his life. After the fire he should have begun his retreat at once, but he tarried at Moscow for a whole month, hoping against hope that the Czar would sue for peace. Since Saint-Jean-d'Acre he had never retired from an operation. After Eylau and at Essling he had not hesitated to "reculer pour mieux sauter," but he had never yet faced failure and he could not bring himself to believe in it now. Moreover retreat was no easy matter. Whichever way he turned his path was beset with almost insurmountable difficulties.

Four plans were considered by the Emperor: first, to winter in Moscow; second, to march on Saint Petersburg; third, to retire on the southern provinces; fourth, to retreat to Smolensk via Kaluga, following a route far to the south of his line of advance.

The first he rejected at once as not feasible. The second was truly Napoleonic in its audacity and strongly appealed to the great soldier, but the difficulties far exceeded the chances. The third plan was open to the same objections as the first. Only the fourth remained, and this was finally adopted. On the 15 October the Emperor issued his orders for the retreat and four days later he left Moscow.

When the retreat began Napoleon had in and around Moscow five corps, the Guard, and the cavalry reserve, in all 110,000 men. At different points in the rear there were six more corps and the Austrian contingent, about 140,000 troops, or a grand total of 250,000.

On the Russian side there was the main army, considerably reinforced, under Kutusov, 140,000, and four detachments amounting in all to 150,000, making a total of 290,000.

Although the relative strength of the adversaries was not yet unfavorable to Napoleon, it was certain to become so as time went by. Above all, the serious lack of horses for the cavalry and artillery could not easily be made up.

In order to give his retreat the appearance of an offensive movement, and to direct it through parts of the country which had not already been devastated, the Emperor proposed to retire by the old highway towards Kaluga, and from there by a southerly route to Smolensk.

On the 24 October Napoleon found Kutusov at Malo-Jaroslowitz posted across the road from Moscow to Kaluga, and an action was fought there between the leading columns of the two armies. Each general kept his main body back as neither wanted to be drawn into a decisive engagement at this point. The next day the Russians retreated to Kaluga, and Napoleon turned back to the northwest towards Borodino. There was a new road to Smolensk via Juknov and Jelnia of which Napoleon had desired to take advantage, and why he did not do so after Kutusov withdrew will ever remain an unsolved mystery. This has been called by some historians the turning-point of his career, but it was not so much so as his decision at Smolensk to advance to Moscow. The manœuvre towards Kaluga was strategically sound, for the new road he proposed to take led through an undevastated region to Smolensk, and only as a last resort, after a defeat, was it excusable to follow the old route.

On learning of this movement of the French, Kutusov struck off to the northwest in pursuit.

The failure of the Russian campaign has generally been ascribed to the weather, but this is only partially true. For nearly three weeks after the army left Moscow the weather was perfect. The winter season was delayed and there was less cold and snow than usual. The temperature averaged from 15° to 25° Fahrenheit. Few of the streams were frozen, and it was the seventh of November before real cold set in. After this date there was great suffering in the bivouacs and the snow destroyed all the forage for

the animals. This rapidly decreased the French forces, and Napoleon entered Smolensk with his army reduced to 75,000 men and about one hundred horses.

Here Napoleon received intelligence that Saint-Cyr and Victor had been defeated and driven back towards Vitebsk, and later that that place had been occupied by the Russians. Under the circumstances he had no alternative except to try to reach Vilna by way of Borisov.

The retreat from Smolensk began the 12 November. The vigorous efforts of the Russians to impede the retreat led to several small actions around Krasnoi five days later. But Napoleon halted with the Guard and personally directed a counter-attack upon Kutusov who drew off his troops and ceased to pursue the French.

At this time Napoleon received the discouraging news that the Russians had seized Borisov and the crossing of the Beresina river and stood with 40,000 men upon his main line of retreat. At this moment Napoleon was eighty miles away. Yet in spite of the fact that he had one army in front of him and two others threatening his flank and rear, each stronger than his own, Napoleon was successful in forcing the passage of the river. By this achievement in a situation which with almost any other general would have led to the surrender of his entire army the Emperor won fresh laurels.

After making a demonstration at one point, as if he intended to cross there, and drawing off the Russians to the south, Napoleon threw two bridges across at a place farther west, by which the main body crossed. The river was about a hundred yards broad, and the ice-floes increased the difficulty. The bridges were then destroyed. At this stage the French army consisted of about 30,000 troops and nearly twice as many camp-followers.

Napoleon did not retreat through Minsk as he originally intended but directed his army on Vilna. Before reaching there he turned the command over to Murat and hastened to Paris.

Vilna also had to be abandoned, and Murat recrossed

the Niemen on the 15 December with a miserable body of 5000 combatants and 45,000 others, while Davout and Poniatowski led the remnants of three other corps across at another point.

Only Cossacks continued the pursuit west of the Beresina. The Russian army, also reduced to about 60,000 men, entered Vilna the middle of December.

Napoleon had led 450,000 men across the Niemen in June and had received reinforcements of 150,000. Of these only about 150,000 returned. Thus the French lost about 450,000 men, probably one third sick or prisoners, the balance killed and missing. The Russian losses were about 250,000, or proportionately even greater than the French.

On leaving the army, the Emperor took Caulaincourt with him in the carriage, and Roustan on the box. Duroc and Mouton followed. After consulting with Maret at Vilna, he drove to Warsaw, and thence to Dresden and Paris, travelling day and night as was his lifelong habit. He reached the Tuileries on the 18 December.

The criticism of Napoleon for abandoning his army is absolutely unwarranted. The fate of the Grand Army was sealed, and nothing he could do now would change it. Any one of his generals could lead the remnants back to the Niemen as well as he. The place of the Emperor, as head of the State, was now at Paris.

The statement in his last Bulletin that "the health of His Majesty has never been better" has also been pointed out as selfish; but has not the health of a sovereign always been considered, even in times of peace, as a matter of prime importance to the State? How much more then the health of the Emperor at the end of a great campaign, when reports of his death had been circulated at Paris!

It is remarkable that not one of the French commanders above the rank of general of division lost his life; also that the proportion of officers who returned was much above that of the men. If this had not been the case Napoleon would have been unable to raise an efficient army in 1813.

They one and all had fearlessly exposed themselves during the campaign, and the fact can only be explained by their higher *moral.*

Some of the principal reasons for the failure of the Russian campaign have been stated above, and there is not space to go into the matter further. The principal error was in not realizing the fact that in Russia, as in Spain, "large armies will starve, and small ones will get beaten." This much can be said: There was no other living commander who could have got any part of the Grand Army from Moscow back to the Niemen.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

1813

LEIPZIG

Napoleon after Moscow — His Reliance on Austria — Preparations for the Campaign — Plans of the Allies — Battles of Lützen and Bautzen — The Victories Indecisive — Decline of Napoleon's Strength — The Fatal Armistice — Conditions of Peace — Austria Joins the Allies — Hostilities Resumed — Napoleon's Base on the Elbe — Danger of His Position — Battle of Dresden — Defeats of the Marshals — Napoleon's Indecision — Battle of Leipzig — French Defeat — Retreat to the Rhine — Battle of Hanau

WHOM Jupiter wishes to destroy, said the ancient Romans, he first makes mad. (*Quos vult Jupiter perdere, dementat prius.*) After the Russian campaign Napoleon seems to have lost his mental balance. He had lived so long in an atmosphere of flattery and adulation that he was no longer willing to accept suggestions, much less criticism, from any one. "By degrees," says Rose, "the passion for the grandiose had overmastered the calculating faculties which in early life generally held ambition in leash. The same powers were there, even to excess, but the sound judgment which coördinated them no longer exercised a sovereign control."

At the beginning of 1813 Napoleon was still in a position to save his empire notwithstanding the terrible Russian disaster. He still had at his command immense resources of men and money. There were at least a quarter of a million seasoned troops in the Peninsula, and one hundred and fifty thousand more in the fortresses of Germany. He should have recalled his army from Spain and sent Ferdinand back to his throne. Two army corps of fifty thousand men could easily have defended the only two

practicable passes of the Pyrenees. This would have given him a veteran army of 350,000 men, with a reserve force of the same size in training in the dépôts of France. With such an army he could easily have defended the line of the Elbe against the Russians and Prussians, and Austria would never have entered the coalition against him. But he was no longer the Bonaparte who in 1796 had raised the investment of Mantua, destroyed his siege train, and marched with every available soldier to meet the Austrians; nor was he the same Napoleon who at Eylau and Essling had drawn back in order to leap further. Napoleon was now the spoiled child of Fortune.

"He who seeks to hold everything will end by losing everything," had said wise old Frederick the Great. By forgetting this maxim Napoleon was to lose his throne. Had he recognized his danger, and concentrated all his forces, he would not have been outnumbered. Instead of that, the Emperor, like a desperate gambler, placed his entire fortune on a single card, and played for "all or nothing."

The principal cause of these mistakes of Napoleon was that, from the political point of view, he attached an exaggerated importance to his marriage with an archduchess. He should have realized that before becoming the father-in-law of the Emperor of the French, the father of Marie-Louise was the Emperor of Austria, and that all history shows the little consequence of matrimonial alliances when they conflict with affairs of state. Nevertheless, it seems probable that at this time Francis was favorably disposed towards Napoleon, and had no desire to see the Bourbons restored to the throne of France. There never had been any love lost between the Hapsburgs and the royal family of France, and the Austrian emperor sincerely wished to see the new Imperial dynasty maintained. But this desire did not go to the length of being willing to sacrifice the interests of the State to the personal inclination of the sovereign.

On the other hand, Napoleon seems to have thought

that Austria would be his ally, defensive and offensive, and, without asking anything in return, would aid him to conserve the entire French Empire, including the parts which he had torn from her own domain! It was expecting too much.

In the meantime Napoleon, full of spirits and confidence, was displaying a prodigious activity in assembling and equipping a new army. In less than three months he raised a fresh levy of 250,000 men. These troops, added to a force of about 80,000 men who had been enlisted as a home guard in 1812, and 30,000 men withdrawn from Spain, gave him a new Grand Army of over 350,000 troops, but they were chiefly untrained men.

Napoleon's original intention was to operate on the line of the Vistula again, but he soon had to give up this idea. By the end of April he had 200,000 men in the vicinity of Leipzig. The Allies were completely taken by surprise. It had never occurred to the wildest imagination that the Emperor would be able to face them with such a force. They decided at once to make a flank attack on Napoleon at Lützen as he advanced towards Leipzig.

The general plan of the Allies was excellent, but it was not well carried out. On the afternoon of the second of May they advanced to the attack, but they met with a more vigorous resistance than they expected. They tried to envelop Ney, but in the end they were enveloped themselves, for Napoleon sent Macdonald round to the left, and Bertrand and Marmont to the right of Ney to take them on both flanks. About five o'clock he sent up the Guard as well to support Ney, whereupon the Allies retreated. The Prussians fell back to the east as if to cover Berlin, while the Russians retired towards Dresden. The Emperor was too weak in cavalry to pursue vigorously, and the victory was therefore indecisive.

Napoleon's battle of Lützen was fought, not on the field where Gustavus Adolphus fell in 1632, but several miles to the south of it. The country is a big rolling plain which

MARSHAL NEY

reaches up to the Bohemian mountains. It is traversed by several rivers, and is covered by villages and farms.

The Emperor could congratulate himself on a brilliant and much-needed victory. A large part of his forces were not put in, and the Old Guard did not fire a shot. The allied army of seventy thousand men actually engaged had been put to rout by less than sixty thousand French.

Napoleon entered Dresden on the eighth of May, and Saxony returned to her alliance with him. Ney with three corps, a force of 60,000 men, was sent forward towards Berlin. Eugène returned to Italy to take charge of operations there. The Allies again joined forces and retreated together to Bautzen. Only Bülow was detached to fall back on Berlin and cover the capital.

Napoleon now had the choice of two courses: to march on Berlin, or on the allied army. On the day he entered Dresden, Ney was at Torgau, where the main road to Berlin crosses the Elbe. The bridge at Dresden had not been entirely destroyed and the rest of the Grand Army immediately crossed to the right bank of the river. The Emperor was still much in the dark as to the movements of the Allies. He surmised that they had separated after the battle, and his plan was to definitely prevent their coming together again, while Ney threatened Berlin.

A week later the Emperor finally learned that the Allies had united near Bautzen, about three days' marches from him, and were apparently preparing for battle. He immediately resolved to attack them, and recalled Ney. As the marshal was eighty miles away, and could not be expected to reach Bautzen before the twenty-first, Napoleon timed his own movements so as to arrive there the night before that date, and attack the following morning with the support of Ney.

Napoleon was again approaching classic ground. It was here that Frederick after his defeat at Hochkirch took up his stand and defied the much superior forces of Daun. The country is full of small streams which wander around

between the many hillocks, which increase in height to the south near the Bohemian mountains. The landscape is mostly open, and is dotted with villages.

The allied army at Bautzen mustered only 110,000, while Napoleon if he could bring all of his troops into action would have nearly 150,000 men. The Allies were under the nominal command of the Czar Alexander. The Russian army held the left, and the Prussians under Blücher the right.

The result of the first day's action on the 20 May was that the French drove the Allies out of Bautzen and gained firm footing on the right bank of the Spree, the enemy retiring to a strongly fortified second line of defence.

Napoleon's plan of battle for the following day was to contain the Allies in their works by feigned attacks until Ney should debouch in force on their right and rear, and then to throw in all his troops and give the knock-out blow. No finer plan of battle had ever been perfected by the Emperor. But Ney failed to act with his usual energy. If he had fully carried out the Emperor's orders the bulk of the allied army and all of its guns would have been taken. Only the left wing and the cavalry could have gotten away, and Bautzen would have been as decisive a victory as Austerlitz, and almost certainly have ended the campaign.

Some of the critics seem to think that the Emperor's orders to Ney were not sufficiently explicit, but Napoleon probably felt that no more need be said to a man who had acted with such vigor at Friedland and Borodino. As it was, the French took no prisoners and the battle was indecisive. It was very unfortunate that the Emperor gave Davout, the hero of Auerstädt and Wagram, a rôle so inferior to that of Ney in this campaign. Ney was a brilliant corps commander when under the direct orders of the Emperor, but he was not capable of acting wisely if left to himself, and Napoleon should have known this.

There is one salient fact which stands out in the history of Napoleon's career, and that is the small margin of safety

by which he won so many of his victories. In nearly all of his campaigns he was fighting against superior numbers and it was only the indomitable energy of the man which insured success. He himself told the whole story in a letter which he wrote from Italy in 1797 to the Minister of Foreign Affairs: "All great events hang always only by a hair. The able man profits by everything, neglects nothing of all which may yield him some chances more. The less able man, sometimes by neglecting a single one of these, makes everything fail."

Carlyle has said that, "Genius means the transcendent capacity of taking trouble." If this be true, no man in history was ever better entitled to the attribute than Napoleon. He owed his success to hard work. For twenty-five years he toiled from fifteen to sixteen hours a day. He never took more than twenty minutes for his meals, and he was satisfied with from four to six hours of sleep. Although his marvellous mental powers never failed him, at the age of forty his physical strength began to decline. He had made too great drafts upon his bank of reserve. This was most marked during the campaign of Leipzig. "One does not recognize Napoleon during this campaign," Marmont writes. Says Fain, his secretary: "Instead of being up and about, riding from place to place in the saddle, he remained almost constantly locked in his room, where his bed and his maps had been brought."

At Bautzen, he was no longer the Napoleon of Austerlitz and Jena. As Ney's command was to do the most important work of the day, the Emperor should either have given him more specific orders, or should himself have ridden over to his column and personally have directed the operation. The result would then have been a brilliant victory instead of an indecisive action.

On the fourth of June 1813 the Emperor signed an armistice, which with its extensions lasted for ten weeks. This was the crowning error of the many mistakes that he made during this campaign so fatal to his fortunes. The coalition

against him, after the defeats of Lützen and Bautzen, was on the point of breaking up. If Napoleon intended to continue the war, he should not have agreed to a suspension of hostilities; if he wished for peace, he should have been willing to make some reasonable concessions.

The conditions put forward were: (1) That the Grand Duchy of Warsaw should be abolished; (2) That Prussia should regain her former boundaries; (3) That the Confederation of the Rhine should be dissolved; and (4) That Trieste and Dalmatia should be restored to Austria.

Under the circumstances these conditions were very favorable to Napoleon. He would have retained all of Italy, and France with her "natural boundaries," the frontier of the Rhine, which included Belgium and Holland. No French monarch, not even Charlemagne, had ever ruled over so extensive a domain. It was because Napoleon was not willing to make so slight a concession that he lost his throne. It is difficult to explain his conduct. He seems to have still viewed events through the distorting medium of his Continental System, and to have been governed by the vendetta instincts of his race.

He now succeeded in bringing about what Charles James Fox had declared to be impossible. In 1806 the English Foreign Minister had said to Talleyrand, "The project of combining the whole of Europe against France is to the last degree chimerical." For the first time since the Revolution the European Powers buried their petty jealousies and animosities, and Austria, Prussia, Russia and Sweden ranged themselves on the side of Great Britain and the Spanish patriots who for four years had been carrying on an almost hopeless struggle against the Conqueror.

After the battle of Bautzen, Barclay, who had once more assumed command on the death of Kutusov, led the Russian troops back to Warsaw to reorganize them there. The Prussians were forced back into the extreme south of Silesia, and the outlook for the coalition seemed dark indeed.

At this moment Austria intervened and saved the situation. Metternich had been endeavoring for several months to bring about a general peace, and he now approached Napoleon and Alexander once more as a negotiator. During the armistice, which was eventually extended to the tenth of August, negotiations between Metternich, Napoleon and the Allies were actively pushed forward. Napoleon, as we have seen, refused to give up an inch of the territory he had conquered, and at the conclusion of the armistice Austria declared war against him.

Continuous reinforcements had brought the French forces in Germany up to 500,000 men, and the Emperor expected to outnumber the Allies even when joined by Austria.

By the time Austria and Sweden had joined them, however, the Allies could dispose of 800,000 men. In three months Austria put 200,000 troops in the field, under the command of Schwarzenberg, and by the end of the year brought this number up to over half a million. Prussia raised 160,000, the Russians contributed about 180,000, and Bernadotte brought 30,000 Swedes.

At the opening of the autumn campaign the main army of the Allies, about 250,000 strong, under Schwarzenberg, was on the Elbe; another army of 110,000 under Blücher was in Silesia; and the Northern Army under Bernadotte, 125,000, was near Berlin.

Napoleon with 300,000 men was in a central position near Dresden, whence he could strike from interior lines wherever he might detect a weak point, while Davout and Oudinot with 120,000 men were facing the Northern Army.

The base of Napoleon's operation was the Elbe, which was strongly fortified at all the crossings. His main line of communications was by the great highroad from Mayence via Erfurt to Leipzig, and large stores and ammunition dépôts were set up everywhere.

It is only necessary to glance at the map to see the weakness of Napoleon's position after Austria entered the war. It is true, as he claimed, that Dresden was the pivot

on which all his movements turned, and that the Allies were stretched out on an arc extending from Berlin to Prague, while he, operating from the centre on interior lines, could outmanœuvre them. But his line of communications with France was exposed, and an Austrian army debouching from the Bohemian mountains could cut him off from the Rhine. "If they venture between my fortified lines of the Elbe and the Rhine," said Napoleon, "I will enter Bohemia and thus take them in the rear." The Emperor must indeed have despised his foe to venture all on so hazardous a plan! In vain did his marshals remind him that he was in a perilous position so far from France. He retorted that at Marengo, Austerlitz and Wagram he was in greater danger, and that glory would be the prize of mediocre minds if no risks were ever taken in war.

In accordance with the allied plan of operations, at the outbreak of hostilities the Silesian Army advanced towards the Bohemian frontier. The general idea was to envelope Napoleon on three sides, from Berlin, Breslau, and Bohemia; to threaten his line of communications, and to wear him out without risking a pitched battle, in which the Allies from sad experience feared his powers of generalship.

Napoleon first turned his attention to the Army of Silesia, which he proposed to attack in force, while holding the Bohemian passes south of Bautzen so as to prevent any invasion of Saxony. In adopting this plan he took the risk of leaving Dresden and his line of communications open to attack.

The Emperor left Bautzen on the 17 August and proceeded east to Görlitz. After much marching and countermarching he failed to bring Blücher to an action. The Prussian general, usually as bold as a lion, was now as wily as a fox. He withdrew to the southeast, hoping to lure Napoleon into the wilds of Silesia and give the Austrians time to seize Dresden.

But the Emperor was not to be drawn further afield. Late on the evening of the twenty-third he received at Görlitz a dispatch from Saint-Cyr telling him that Dresden

was in danger of capture. Taking the Guard and two divisions of cavalry and infantry he hurried back by forced marches to Dresden, where he arrived two days later. In a pouring rain, many of his battalions traversed forty leagues in forty-eight hours.

Meanwhile the Austrian army had been concentrating south of the Erz Gebirge, which it crossed in four columns, and advanced on Dresden. Owing to the intervention of the Czar, the plan of an immediate attack on the defences of the city was abandoned, and this delay enabled Napoleon to come up.

Dresden lies on the left bank of the Elbe, and is connected with Neustadt on the opposite bank by an old stone bridge which has played a part in many a campaign. After passing through the mountains, the Allies advanced on the city by the three highways which converge there from the south and southwest. The ground is hilly, but descends gradually towards the city. There are several brooks which flow towards the Elbe, and one long defile, hard for troops to cross, through which runs a larger stream to enter the river just below the city. Villages dot the plain, with farms, gardens and other enclosures, all good points to defend. Adjoining the city to the east, the Grosser Garten, a mile long by half as wide, makes an excellent outwork.

Schwarzenberg's orders for the 26 August were to drive the French back on the city from all their advanced positions, after which in the afternoon the artillery would come up and bombard the place. But before this plan could fully be carried out there came a counter-stroke from Napoleon.

The Emperor reached the capital about nine o'clock in the morning. From then until late in the afternoon the Guard was continuously filing across the Elbe and reinforcing Saint-Cyr's hard-pressed troops. As soon as they were all up Napoleon ordered a general advance to recapture sufficient space for deployment in front of the city.

As had so often happened before, the Allies had lost a splendid opportunity by their delay and indecision. With the arrival of Napoleon all doubts and fears had vanished in the French army. At the sight of the well-known figure in the gray redingote fatigues and discomforts were forgotten, and the cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" rent the air, carrying inspiration to the defenders, dismay to the enemy.

The news of Napoleon's arrival so shook the nerves of the Czar that he favored an immediate retreat. But the original plan was carried out. As night fell the Allies drew off, with heavy losses, abandoning all the points of vantage they had gained during the day.

For the battle of the second day Napoleon ordered Murat to attack the weak point of the Allies, their left wing, which was separated from the centre by the defile spoken of above. The French centre was only to hold the enemy in front of it, while the left wing attacked Barclay along the Pirna road.

Although Napoleon was considerably outnumbered he had the advantage of an inner line only half the length of that of the Allies, and could therefore easily be superior in force at any point he chose to attack.

The drenching rain rendered the muskets practically useless for service and the battle was decided by the artillery and cold steel. The French advance against the allied right was at first successful, but was finally checked. Along the centre there was a heavy artillery duel, the most noteworthy result of which was the death of the French traitor Moreau, who was in the Czar's suite, and had both legs carried off by a stray shot from a field battery.

But on the French right a brilliant success was gained by Murat, who overwhelmed two Austrian divisions, and captured ten thousand men. The news of this disaster decided the Allies to retire into Bohemia, and during the night began that famous retreat which soon became a rout.

Dresden was one of Napoleon's most brilliant tactical battles and the last of his great victories. It is the only one

of his battles in which he advanced both wings. He is severely criticized by Dodge because he did not make his victory more decisive by a sharp advance in force. The reason of the sudden check in the pursuit of the disorganized allied army, as stated by Comte de Rochechouart in his "Memoirs," was that the torrents of rain which began to fall the second day of the battle and lasted without intermission for three days brought on a chill followed by a violent attack of fever which compelled Napoleon to return to Dresden instead of going on to Pirna. The absence of orders from the French headquarters prevented the pursuit which might have been decisive. Napoleon had accustomed his generals too much to receive all their orders from headquarters and to have no initiative.

Although Napoleon could claim a brilliant success for himself, during the next few days news reached him from all quarters of disasters to his marshals. Vandamme with his single corps of 40,000 men issued out of the mountains on the flank of the Allies, threw himself across their line of retreat, and was overwhelmed by sheer weight of numbers and his entire corps destroyed. About the same time, Oudinot was severely beaten near Berlin, and Macdonald was badly defeated by Blücher.

"This being the Emperor's first defensive campaign," says Dodge, "he failed to conduct it on lines he had always shown to be correct; he left too big a task to Macdonald; he organized three offensive movements at the same time from a defensive position; he did not make sure of his victory over the army of the Sovereigns."

The movements of the great captain during the next month do not exhibit him to advantage. After the battle of Dresden, instead of following up his victory, he shut himself up in his study for two days and dictated a long review of the military outlook which has been a puzzle to strategical students ever since.

In this "Note on the General Situation of My Affairs" he suddenly throws aside every principle which he had laid down and so often demonstrated in his brilliant career. To

the admirer of his genius it is amazing to see Napoleon writing notes instead of acting. Having undertaken a defensive, for the first time in his life, he seems to have lost all his initiative. The rest of the month he spent his time moving all around Dresden without attacking anybody seriously. On the fourth of October he again drew up a review of the situation in which he apparently seriously contemplated the impossible scheme of giving up his communications with France and wintering in and around Dresden!

Suddenly Napoleon completely changed his plans and decided to give up Dresden as a base and fall back towards Erfurt. But after calling up Saint-Cyr from Dresden, he cancelled the order and left him there, only to be finally captured by the Allies. Having drawn up a brilliant plan, in which one again recognizes the old commander, Napoleon for three days remained inactive, once more a prey to the most extraordinary irresolution.

In the meantime, while the great captain waited and waited, the Allies were putting to use against him his own methods. They had distinctly outmanœuvred him and stood in full force upon his line of retreat with their own open. He was in as bad a predicament as he had ever placed one of his enemies, and he alone was to blame. It is indeed impossible "to recognize Napoleon during this campaign." He now decided that there was nothing to do except to march on Leipzig and accept battle there, which under the circumstances was simply to invite destruction. He should have avoided battle and manœuvred to turn the flank of his enemies so as to reach the Rhine.

At noon on the 13 October the French corps began the march to Leipzig. Nothing now could save the situation but a great victory, and it was not possible for him to concentrate his forces in time. Up to the present moment the Allies had constantly refused to meet him, and Napoleon seemed to imagine that they would never dare to attack him, and that he could come to battle when and how he pleased. A fatal error! "In going to Leipzig to fight a

Lunitzsch
Tauchra
Thonberg
Sommerfeld
Heights of Hetterlitch
Macdonald
Engelsdorf
Kl. Possenau
Albrechtshayn
Reutzsch
Meckern
Paunsdorf
Bertrand
Sellerhausen
Sellerfeld
Sebastiani
Zuccam
Holzhausen
Holzhaus Berg
Eutritzsch
Gohlis
Reudnitz
Guards
NAPOLEON
Probstheyda
Thumberg
Windmill
LEIPSIC
Flossgraben
Kellermann
Lindenau
Connewitz
Dölitz
Panitzsch
Wachau
Pahlen
Gosra
Pt Eugene
Lieberwolkwitz
Gr. Possnau
Thrana
Taschatz
Holzhausen
Stotteritz
Zuckelhausen
Liebertwolkwitz
Pt Eugene
Stormthal
Pt Eugene
Auenhayn
Wartenberg
Mark Kleeberg
Crostewitz
Kleist
Magdeborn
Grubern
Russian and Prussian Guards
To Borna
Windorf
Military Way
Kleeberg
Knauthayn
Lausen
Lobstker
Gaschwitz
Deuben
Prödel
Stokna
Radel
To Borna
To Pegau
Bohlen
Zeschwitz
Meerfeldt
Zwenkau
Markkramsstadt
Gaby

battle," says Dodge, "he deliberately committed strategic suicide. Any manœuvre was better."

The old university town of Leipzig is situated in a large plain, on the right bank of the Elster at the point where it is joined by the Pleisse. Between the rivers, for several miles above and below the city, there is low marshy meadow-land. On the north of the city a smaller stream, the Partha, comes in from the east. The only outlet from Leipzig to the west, towards Erfurt and Mayence, is over the long causeway bridge that crosses the several arms of the two rivers; and at the western end of this bridge is Lindenau. The old road from Halle, by which Blücher arrived, runs parallel to the north bank of the Elster. There are many villages in the rolling plain to the east of the city, all so built as to be capable of stout defence. These villages were an important feature of the battle-field.

On the 15 October the rival armies lined up for battle. To the southeast of the city Napoleon's main body of 130,000 men faced Schwarzenberg with 200,000. At Mockern to the north stood Ney and Marmont with 50,000, opposed to Blücher with 60,000 men. Near Lindenau Bertrand with 20,000 men opposed a strong column under Giulay who was working around to join the Prussians on the north.

Giulay opened the battle on the sixteenth with an attack on the French position at Lindenau; but he was repulsed and retreated up the Elster to rejoin the main body of the Allies. The brunt of the fighting took place around Wachau about two miles and a half to the southeast of the city. Here the French batteries broke up the attack of two Austrian columns. A counter-attack of three cavalry divisions under Murat, which Napoleon sent direct against the Austrian centre, failed of success on account of the marshy ground. Another advance of the French against the Austrian right was also repulsed. The fighting on both sides was most obstinate. On the north, however, Ney and Marmont were forced back by Blücher who came within a mile of the gates of the city.

The next day Napoleon was reinforced by the arrival of Reynier's corps, which went into position to the east of the city. On the allied side, Bernadotte came up from Halle and formed up his troops opposite Reynier, thus closing the gap between the Austrians and Prussians. At the same time Schwarzenberg's right wing was strengthened by Bennigsen. The rain fell without ceasing, and a general rest seemed to be imposed. During the day the French line of battle was withdrawn nearly a league farther back.

Napoleon's front now extended in a semicircle over eleven miles in length from the northern side of the city to the Pleisse on the south. Only Bertrand remained on the left bank of the river at Lindenau covering the line of retreat. The French now numbered 200,000 against 300,000 of the Allies.

On the eighteenth Schwarzenberg's intention was to advance with his main body along the Pleisse and turn the French right and cut them off from Leipzig and their line of retreat. The fighting again was most obstinate and the Allies failed to gain any decisive advantage. But early in the afternoon the troops from Baden, Würtemberg and Saxony deserted the French and went over to the Allies, a defection which in the words of the royalist Rochechouart "may be called infamous treachery, a disgraceful action, unprecedented in the annals of modern warfare; for not only had these troops deserted the French, but they attacked them almost at once." All hope of saving the battle had now to be given up, but the French covered their retreat with great stubbornness, and by daybreak the next morning one-half of the army was already filing along the road to Erfurt which had so fortunately been left for them. Napoleon reached Lützen that day with his main body, while the Allies stormed Leipzig. By an error the bridge across the Elster was blown up before all the French had crossed, and part of the rearguard was thus cut off. Poniatowski, who had just received his marshal's bâton, lost his life in trying to swim the river.

The aged King of Saxony who had remained in Leipzig during the battle was treated by the allied sovereigns with the greatest severity. He was sent to Berlin as a prisoner of war and remained there until the close of 1814.

The Kings of Saxony and Denmark were the last sovereigns to remain faithful to Napoleon, even in his fall, and they paid dearly for their fidelity. Talleyrand pleaded the cause of the King of Saxony at the Congress of Vienna and finally obtained for him his liberty and his kingdom, with the exception of one province which was assigned to Prussia. The King of Denmark lost Norway, which was given to the King of Sweden as a reward for his help in this campaign of 1813, and to indemnify him for the loss of Finland which had been reunited to Russia.

The French retreat had been so well covered that no direct pursuit was attempted. The army, still over 100,000 strong, marched rapidly via Erfurt to Hanau on the Main. Here Napoleon found his way barred by Wrede with 60,000 men and over 100 guns in a strong position. To this fresh emergency he responded in most brilliant fashion. He at once attacked, and after one of the finest artillery manœuvres in history, marched right over the enemy, practically destroying his entire force. Henceforth the march was unmolested and Napoleon reached Mayence on the second of November.

Thus ended the Campaign of Leipzig, the most unsound that Napoleon ever conducted — "the weakest in conception, the most fertile in blunders, and the most disastrous in its results."

CHAPTER TWENTY

1814

THE CAMPAIGN OF FRANCE

Napoleon Returns to Paris — The Sovereigns Offer Peace — An Evasive Answer — The Allies Invade France — Defection of Murat — Plan of the Allies — Napoleon's Preparations — The Theatre of War — Battles of Brienne and La Rothière — Blücher Defeated — Schwarzenberg Driven Back — Battle of Laon — The Congress of Châtillon — The Allies Advance on Paris — Napoleon's Move to the East — The Allies Take Paris — Napoleon at Fontainebleau — The First Abdication — Marmont's Treason — The Second Abdication — Napoleon Attempts Suicide — The Adieux de Fontainebleau — The Island of Elba — Napoleon's Life There

WHEN Napoleon had recrossed the Rhine at Mayence and found himself once more on the soil of the Empire he had a feeling of discouragement which it was difficult for him to conceal. He was no longer the Conqueror returning in triumph to his people. The Russian disaster he had been able to dissemble, and attribute to the forces of Nature, but no such course was possible to the general who had been vanquished at Leipzig. He remained a few days at Mayence and then left for Paris.

On the evening of the ninth of November he reached Saint-Cloud where he was welcomed by the Empress. He had not a word to say regarding the results of the campaign, and addressed no reproaches to Marie-Louise on account of his desertion by her father.

The 14 November there arrived at Saint-Cloud an emissary of peace from the allied Sovereigns. This was Baron de Saint-Aignan, Napoleon's minister at Weimar. He was authorized to say to the Emperor that the Allies were willing to treat for peace on the basis of the "natural frontiers" of France, the Rhine, the Alps and the Pyrenees.

NAPOLEON, 1814

It is very difficult now to say whether these proposals were sincere or not. But Napoleon, even in defeat, still inspired so much respect and fear that it is more than probable that he could even then have made "peace with honor." At this moment, neither the Czar nor the Emperor Francis desired the return of the Bourbons. The Allies, with the memories of the Revolutionary wars still fresh in their minds, hesitated to cross the Rhine and the Pyrenees. The ablest of their ministers advised a policy of conciliation as both honorable and prudent.

Napoleon, instead of seizing this opportunity, returned an evasive answer, and suggested a congress at some future date, without indicating in any way his views as to the proposal. When he finally decided two weeks later to accept the conditions, it was too late. The Allies had been informed by the Royalists in France of the weakness of Napoleon's position, and the offer was withdrawn.

When Napoleon finally decided that peace was necessary, he wished to recall Talleyrand to his former post of Minister of Foreign Affairs, but the latter refused because the Emperor insisted that in becoming minister he should resign his position of *vice-grand-électeur*. Over such an insignificant matter of etiquette Napoleon at this critical moment lost the services of his ablest adviser. The Emperor then appointed the wise and pacific Caulaincourt, who was *persona grata* to the Czar, at whose Court he had held the position of French Ambassador. But it was now too late for negotiations. As Bismarck once said, "There are moments in diplomatic affairs which never return."

The 19 December the Emperor in person opened the session of the Corps Législatif with great pomp. He failed to receive the usual enthusiastic reception. Two days later the Allies began the invasion of France.

The nation which for over twenty years had not seen an invader on its soil was not prepared for its defence. The fortresses of the Elbe and the Vistula were strongly garrisoned and well supplied, but no thought had been given to the strong places of France. Nearly one hundred and

fifty thousand veteran troops were holding the German fortresses and as many more were still fighting in Spain, while in France there were not enough soldiers to guard the Rhine.

On the 11 December 1813, Napoleon had concluded a treaty with Ferdinand by which the latter was to be restored to the throne of Spain, and the French garrisons were to come home. Again it was too late. These soldiers who might have saved the Empire did not return in time to fight the invaders.

On learning of the signature of this treaty Joseph was profoundly mortified, but there was nothing to do but to submit. He retained his title of king, and the dignity of prince of the Empire, and took up his residence in the Luxembourg.

At the moment that the brothers became reconciled Napoleon was cut to the quick at learning that his sister Caroline and her husband Murat had deserted him and gone over to the Allies. Strangest thing of all, it was the other Caroline, the sister of Marie-Antoinette, the deposed Queen of Naples, from whom the Emperor received the first warning of this defection; and it was this same Caroline, who had so much reason to detest Napoleon, who a few months later reproached her grand-daughter Marie-Louise for abandoning her unfortunate husband.

After the battle of Leipzig the main army of the Allies advanced to the Rhine where they remained stationary during the month of November. There were no active operations except in Holland and around the fortresses along the Elbe and the Oder. The situation was so uncertain that the Allies did not feel justified in advancing on Paris. It was reported that Napoleon had raised a new army of 300,000 men, and after the surprise of the previous spring they were ready to believe anything. It was at this time that the Sovereigns made the very favorable offers of peace which Napoleon was so insensate as not to accept. They did not then know that the French army was

far short of its strength on paper; that it was not, and could not be, properly equipped; and that it was suffering severely from an epidemic of typhus.

At the close of the year 1813 the main allied army of about 200,000 men under Schwarzenberg was on the Rhine between Bâle and Mannheim, and another army of 80,000 was at Mayence and Coblenz under Blücher. Bernadotte had gone to Holstein; Bennigsen was confronting Davout at Hamburg; and Bülow was in Holland with one Prussian and one Russian corps, 70,000 men in all. This gave the Allies an army for active operations of about 350,000 in all.

At the same time Napoleon's total available forces did not exceed 100,000 men, and they were scattered at a dozen different points from Bâle to Brussels. If there was ever a time when Napoleon needed to put to use his rule of concentration it was now. If after Leipzig he had drawn in Saint-Cyr and Davout from Germany, Eugène from Italy and Suchet and Soult from Spain, to add to his field army, there is no question that he could have kept the Allies beyond the Rhine and retained his throne with the enlarged boundaries of France. But for the time being the general was sunk in the monarch, and he was governed by political rather than military considerations. The wide separation of the small French forces was in the highest decree unwise. He should have abandoned for the moment his conquests in Belgium, Italy and Spain, concentrated all his forces on the Rhine, beaten the several allied armies in detail and driven them from the soil of the Empire. He would then have recovered his prestige and his territory at one blow. But the Emperor did nothing of the kind, and it is difficult to recognize at this time the man whose first principle of war was to mass every man and every gun for battle.

If there was not time to concentrate his forces along the frontier he should certainly have done so for the defence of the capital. If he lost Paris all was lost, for all history shows that Paris is the heart of France.

Napoleon did not expect that the Allies would attempt to invade France before spring, and he thus hoped to have ample time for his preparations. In this he was to be disappointed. This time they did not intend to give the Emperor an opportunity to reorganize and recruit his army.

The plan of operations adopted by the Allies was simplicity itself. Paris was their objective, and they purposed to march on the capital in three columns. The most direct route from Germany is through Metz to Châlons, and Napoleon expected them this way. But the main army under Schwarzenberg advanced from Bâle towards Dijon, while the second army under Blücher was to move on Metz the moment that the first had crossed the Jura Mountains. As soon as the two armies were in touch with each other they were to march on Paris by the valleys of the Seine and the Marne. If Napoleon assumed the offensive they purposed to threaten his flanks while avoiding a decisive engagement.

At the same time the third army under Bülow was to advance from Holland through Namur on Laon and approach Paris from the north.

We do not propose to enter into the details of the invasion until Napoleon himself appears upon the scene the last of January. No serious defence was possible from the feeble *cordon* of French troops facing the Rhine, and the advance of the Allies to the Marne was only a *promenade militaire*.

From the time of his return to Paris early in November the Emperor had been busy trying to raise a new army. He might have withdrawn 300,000 trained soldiers from the fortresses of Germany and from his armies in Spain and Italy, but as we have seen he was deterred by political considerations, although the military situation demanded it. On paper he succeeded in raising a new levy of nearly a million men, but Houssaye calculates that not more than one-third were actually called up, and not over one-eighth ever fought. From Suchet and Soult in Spain he withdrew about 25,000 men; from Italy, none; and the troops

MAP
OF PARTS OF
FRANCE & BELGIUM
to Illustrate the
CAMPAIGNS OF 1814-15.
Scale of English Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40 50
LIEGE
NAMUR
LUXEMBOURG
MEZIERES
ARDENNES
CHALONS sur Marne
BAR LE DUC
NANCY
METZ
THIONVILLE
LUNEVILLE
SARREGUEMINES
Saarbruck
Saarburgh
TREVES
Morbach
Trarbach
Berukastel
Kreuznach
Neuerburg
Bilburg
Remich
Hombourg
Pont a Mousson
Nomeny
Morhange
Fenestange
Dieuze
Chateau Salins
Blamont
Badonviller
Rambervillers
Epinal
Bruyeres
Mirecourt
Dompaire
Neufchateau
St Hubert
Arlon
Montmedy
Longwy
Briey
Etain
Verdun
Varennes
Clermont
Rethel
Vouziers
Grandpre
Buzancy
Sedan
Charleville
Rocroy
Givet
Philippeville
Marienbourg
Chimay
Beaumont
Maubeuge
Avesnes
Landrecies
Le Quesnoy
Valenciennes
Mons
Tournay
Ath
Oudenarde
Ghent
Brussels
Waterloo
Wavre
Namur
Huy
Liege
Verviers
Spa
Malmedy
Stavelot
Vielsalm
Houffalize
Bastogne
Virton
Florenville
Montmedy
Stenay
Dun
Damvillers
Commercy
Toul
Void
Gondrecourt
Vaucouleurs
Ligny
Bar le Duc
Revigny
Vitry le François
Sompuis
Chalons
Epernay
Chateau Thierry
Meaux
Paris
Soissons
Laon
Rheims
Sedan
Mezieres
Hirson
Guise
Vervins
Rocroy
Philippeville
Dinant
Namur
Huy
Liege
Verviers
Spa
Malmedy
Stavelot
Vielsalm
Houffalize
Bastogne
Virton
Florenville
Montmedy
Stenay
Dun
Damvillers
Commercy
Toul
Void
Gondrecourt
Vaucouleurs
Ligny
Bar le Duc
Revigny
Vitry le François
Sompuis
Chalons
Epernay
Chateau Thierry
Meaux
Paris
Soissons
Laon
Rheims

left in Germany were soon invested and ultimately forced to surrender.

Into the details of Napoleon's efforts to raise a new army we cannot enter. When he finally faced the enemy at Châlons the last week in January he had only 50,000 troops available for immediate operations.

The theatre of the Campaign of France is an irregular pentagon of which the five corners are Paris, Laon, Saint-Dizier, Chaumont, and Fontainebleau. The country is generally flat and in parts scantily populated. The two principal rivers in this area are the Marne and the Seine, which flow more or less parallel to each other until they begin to converge to unite just outside Paris to the east. They are rarely fordable in winter and are always serious military obstacles. There are also many large tributaries to these rivers, which were of importance in the campaign.

Across the theatre of war there were three great roads to Paris: (1) From Châlons via Château-Thierry; (2) From Chaumont via Troyes; and (3) From Auxerre via Sens, joining the second route at the crossing of the Marne outside Paris.

These roads passed many times over the Marne and Seine and other streams, and the destruction of the bridges had an important effect on the course of operations.

On the 26 January, Napoleon took command at Châlons of the forces of Ney, Victor, Marmont, and a little later of Mortier as well — in all about 50,000 men. From there he advanced up the Marne to Saint-Dizier, where he learned that Blücher had marched to Brienne. Napoleon followed and attacked Blücher, who narrowly escaped capture in the Château of Brienne. The Army of Silesia fell back to Bar-sur-Aube to get in touch with Schwarzenberg.

After waiting two days at Brienne the Emperor prepared to march to Troyes. At La Rothière on the first of February he was attacked by the first and second allied armies which outnumbered him four to one. But the attack was begun late in the day, and Napoleon was able to hold

his own until darkness fell. The following day he retreated to Troyes, hotly pursued by the Allies.

After the battle it was decided that the two allied armies should again separate; that Blücher should march to Châlons and thence by the valley of the Marne to Paris; that the Army of Bohemia should advance on Troyes, and thence by both banks of the Seine on Paris; and that the Cossacks should form a connecting link between the two armies.

Meanwhile Napoleon with his usual intuition had already divined the probable movements of the enemy. He immediately moved across to Nogent. There he left Victor and Oudinot with half his force to hold back Schwarzenberg, while he crossed the Seine with the Guard, 30,000 strong, and marched north. On the tenth, at Champaubert, he struck the centre of the Silesian Army which was strung out on a line about forty-five miles long, and destroyed one corps. Then leaving Marmont to check Blücher's advance he turned to the west and attacked one of Yorck's corps and forced it to retreat to Château-Thierry. Leaving Mortier to contain Yorck, he dashed off again with his main body to Montmirail, at the same time sending Marmont orders to fall back on that place, and draw Blücher after him. The Prussian general fell into the trap, and was defeated by Napoleon and forced to retire to Châlons a distance of forty miles. These brilliant victories in three successive days recalled the glories of the Campaign of Italy. The whole Silesian Army had been put *hors de combat*, and forced to abandon its advance on Paris. For the time-being Napoleon had knocked out his most dangerous and implacable enemy. In a letter to his wife, Blücher said, "I have had a bitter three days"; but with his usual hopefulness and pluck he adds: "Don't be afraid that we shall be beaten; unless some unheard-of mistake occurs, that is not possible."

After defeating Blücher, it was high time for Napoleon to return to the assistance of his retaining force on the Seine. Leaving Mortier and Marmont to look after the Army of Silesia he hurried back to the valley of the Seine

where Victor and Oudinot had been forced back to within twelve miles of Paris. While Napoleon was dealing with Blücher, Schwarzenberg had seized Troyes and continued his advance on a wide front between the Seine and the Yonne. He stormed Sens and his vanguard reached Fontainebleau.

While the Army of Bohemia was thus continuing its leisurely advance Napoleon suddenly fell upon it, and during the five days from 17–21 February defeated it three times, and inflicted such heavy punishment on his adversaries that they retreated hastily to Bar-sur-Aube, over one hundred miles from the capital.

In the meantime Blücher had again advanced and was driving Marmont and Mortier before him. On receiving this information the Emperor decided to discontinue his pursuit of Schwarzenberg and fall upon Blücher again. Leaving 30,000 men on the Aube under Macdonald and Oudinot to try to keep back the Bohemian Army, he took the remaining 25,000 to join the 15,000 that were with his marshals on the Marne. He arrived there on the second of March, having covered seventy-five miles in five days. He immediately fell upon Blücher's left and drove him back on Soissons. This place had been held by a French garrison, which had capitulated only twenty-four hours before, unknown to Napoleon. The Silesian Army was thus able to escape, and marching north to Laon it effected a junction with Bernadotte, thus bringing Blücher's forces up to 100,000 men.

On the seventh Napoleon defeated an advance guard of the enemy at Craonne, and drove it back on Laon, where a battle took place on the ninth. Napoleon was repulsed and was obliged to retire to Reims to rest his men.

On the fourteenth, Schwarzenberg, who had learned of Napoleon's absence from his front, began another advance, but retreated again to Brienne on the news of the Emperor's approach.

Thus after six weeks' fighting the Allies were no nearer Paris than at the beginning of the campaign.

In order not to interrupt the narrative of the military operations no reference has yet been made to the peace negotiations which were carried on for several weeks during the course of the campaign, and we must now turn for a moment to the duller affairs of the diplomatists. The congress was held at the little city of Châtillon on the Seine, very near to the theatre of war. There were present the plenipotentiaries of England, Austria, Prussia, Russia and France. The Emperor was represented by Caulaincourt, his Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Nothing could have been more difficult than the rôle of the French commissioner. Caulaincourt was a brave general, a man of honor, a patriot if there ever was one. Absolutely devoted to the Emperor, he was nevertheless sincerely in favor of peace, which he believed to be the only salvation for Napoleon and for France. If his prudent advice had been followed the Emperor might have saved his throne. Napoleon could have had peace if he had been willing to accept the frontiers of 1792, but he insisted on the "natural boundaries" which he had once rejected. At times the Emperor seemed ready to give way, but as soon as he gained a military success he was again obdurate. Caulaincourt filled with honor and dignity his thankless rôle.

The congress opened at Châtillon on the fourth of February, just after Napoleon's desperate defensive battle at La Rothière. At that time the Emperor gave Caulaincourt *carte blanche* "to conduct the negotiations to a happy finish."

Three days later the Powers made known their ultimatum that France should withdraw within the limits of 1792, and should have no voice in the disposition of the ceded territory. An immediate reply was demanded, yes or no, without any *pourparlers*. Caulaincourt expressed his willingness to accept even these hard terms, but upon condition that there should be an immediate suspension of hostilities. This condition was rejected by the Allies, and the following day the conferences were suspended for a week.

EMPEROR FRANCIS I

When the sessions were resumed on the 15 February, Napoleon had just gained his brilliant victories over Blücher, and he wrote Caulaincourt from Nangis, withdrawing his *carte blanche* and insisting on the bases proposed at Frankfort, that is to say the "natural frontiers."

Napoleon thought the Allies would be much more discouraged than they were. At the session of the 17 February they presented a series of preliminary articles even more drastic than their previous propositions. When Napoleon heard of these demands his rage knew no bounds. He wrote Caulaincourt that he would rather see the Bourbons back than accept such infamous terms.

But the Allies would not yield a single point. The last day of February they notified Caulaincourt that unless a favorable reply was received by the tenth of March the congress would immediately be dissolved.

With much difficulty the French commissioner obtained an extension of five days, and finally on the 15 March he presented the counter-proposition of Napoleon in which the Emperor made some minor concessions but still insisted on the line of the Alps and the Rhine. The Allies considered this proposition as an ultimatum which made peace impossible, and on the 18 March the congress finally adjourned.

The Allies now suddenly decided to cut loose from their communications and march directly upon Paris. This change of plan was brought about by several circumstances. Under the leadership of Talleyrand, who had long secretly desired the fall of Napoleon, a plot had been formed at Paris to dethrone the Emperor and restore the Bourbons. The allied sovereigns were informed of this conspiracy but they were not entirely convinced that Napoleon's situation was as weak as represented. While they were still hesitating a letter to the Emperor from Savary was intercepted in which the minister described the exhaustion of the treasury, the arsenals and the magazines, and spoke of the grave discontent of the population. After

reading this letter the Czar decided to issue orders for an immediate march on the capital.

At the same moment that the Allies began their advance on Paris, Napoleon suddenly effected a manœuvre that has been differently criticized — blamed by many, approved by few, the result of which was to bring about his fall within a few days. This manœuvre consisted in passing to the rear of the allied armies, in order to cut off their communications. Napoleon hoped that they would follow him and thus be drawn away from Paris. The Allies, however, divided their forces, leaving two Russian and Prussian corps to watch Napoleon while the rest of the army marched directly on Paris, driving before them the corps of Marmont and Mortier. In this sudden and rapid movement the Emperor of Austria became separated from his allies, an apparently unimportant incident, which, however, deprived Napoleon of the protection of his father-in-law and of Prince Metternich at a very critical moment for himself and his dynasty.

Marmont and Mortier were driven back to Paris where they took up a position at Montmartre for the defence of the city, which was not fortified at that time.

The 29 March there was fighting at the gates of Paris along an immense line. The allied armies formed an effective force of at least 150,000 men. To these the French could not oppose more than 30,000 men, who moreover were disheartened by recent defeats. The two marshals did not agree and would not act in concert. The confusion was great and the capture of Paris inevitable.

The allied army had marched on Paris in the form of a large semicircle, leaving only the route to Orléans open. By this road the Regent, the Empress Marie-Louise, with her son, King Joseph and the Imperial Government retired and took up their residence at Blois, thus leaving the capital without government and a prey to all the elements of intrigue that were within it. The result was the surrender of the city to the Allies on the last day of March almost without firing a shot.

When Napoleon found that his movement to the East to cut the allied communications did not cause them to fall back as he had expected, he was for the moment undecided whether to pursue them or to leave his army and hasten himself to the defence of his capital. Not dreaming that Paris would capitulate almost without resistance, he decided on the latter course and travelled post-haste via Troyes to Fontainebleau. Pushing on from there to Paris, at a point twelve miles south of the capital he learned of the capitulation. He then turned back to Fontainebleau, and began to assemble his troops, who had followed him by forced marches, with the idea of recapturing Paris.

As soon as the Emperor reached Fontainebleau he sent Caulaincourt to Paris to see the Czar Alexander, with a letter of credentials in which he gave him full power to negotiate and conclude peace, and promised to ratify any arrangement he might make.

The first of April, the day after the Emperor's arrival, the heads of the columns from Champagne began to come in from the direction of Sens, and also the advance guard of the troops from Paris. The marshals also began to appear, and soon there could be seen at the Imperial headquarters: Moncey, the commander of the National Guard of Paris; Lefebvre, who at the age of sixty had served through the campaign; Ney, Oudinot and Macdonald who came from Troyes, and Mortier and Marmont who arrived from Paris.

The troops as they came in were placed in position behind the Essonnes about ten miles from Paris. The day after his arrival Napoleon already had 30,000 men in line. The Emperor, whose feeling of lassitude had passed away, was already laying his plans to seize Paris by a *coup de main*. He only awaited the arrival of further reinforcements and the return of Caulaincourt from Paris.

The first conference between the Allies was held the first day of April at the residence of Talleyrand. The departure of Marie-Louise for Blois with her son and the Imperial Government, and the absence of the Emperor of

Austria who was only able to arrive on the fifteenth, when all was over, had left the field free to the enemies of the Empire.

The news which Caulaincourt brought from the capital the night of the second was most discouraging. The Czar was lodged in the hôtel of Talleyrand, the central figure of the royalist plot, who had just been named as the head of the provisional government, with four colleagues; but the restoration of the Bourbons was not yet decided, and the throne might still be saved if the Emperor abdicated in favor of the King of Rome. Caulaincourt urged Napoleon to take this course.

The following morning the Emperor assembled the Old Guard in the court of the Cheval-Blanc and addressed them. He was received with such enthusiasm that for the moment he returned again to his plan of marching on Paris. But if the soldiers and the officers were still eager for war, the case was far different with the marshals, who were now, almost without exception, determined to force the abdication. Ney took the lead in speaking decisively and even disrespectfully to the Emperor.

At noon on the fourth Napoleon called the marshals to his salon, and ordered his secretary, Fain, to read the act of abdication, which he then signed. A careful reading of this paper will show that it was merely a conditional offer to "descend from the throne" subject to "the rights of his son," and was not an absolute abdication. Caulaincourt, Ney and Macdonald were directed to take the paper to Paris and make a final supreme effort at least to save the dynasty.

On their way to the city the three plenipotentiaries stopped at Essonnes to see Marmont. This little village, situated about five miles from Corbeil, was the headquarters of this marshal and of the Sixth Corps which had been under his command during the campaign. The village bears the same name as the river which enters the Seine at Corbeil, and which separated the troops of Marmont from those of the Allies.

On meeting Marmont the emissaries of the Emperor were struck by his air of embarrassment, which they could not understand. The mystery was to be explained only too soon. Marmont, who had fought by the side of Napoleon since the days of Toulon, who had been rewarded by him with titles and riches, who had covered himself with glory during the Campaign of France — Marmont had betrayed the Empire!

Following a conference held at his hôtel in Paris on the evening of the 31 March, a few hours after the capitulation of the city, at which he became convinced that nothing could prevent the fall of Napoleon, he had decided to range himself under the white flag of the Bourbons. On the morning of the fourth of April he called a meeting at his headquarters of all his generals except Chastel and explained his plans.

Such was the state of affairs when the same afternoon Caulaincourt, Ney and Macdonald stopped at Essonnes and informed Marmont of their mission and asked him to accompany them to Paris. Having obtained a *sauf-conduit* from Prince de Schwarzenberg, Caulaincourt and the three marshals proceeded to Paris where they arrived at two o'clock on the morning of the fifth and went directly to the hôtel of Talleyrand where the Czar was living. The Czar saw them at once and gave them a very cordial reception. After listening to their pleadings in favor of the King of Rome he promised to give them an answer during the course of the day after a conference with his allies.

An event fatal to the hopes of the Imperial dynasty now occurred. Marmont had planned the act of treason, and during his absence his generals carried it out. The marshal had hardly left for Paris when an aide de camp of the Emperor arrived at his quarters with an order for him to go to Fontainebleau. The generals of the Sixth Corps at once jumped to the conclusion that the plans of their commander had been exposed to the Emperor. Without awaiting the return of Marmont they decided to carry out the convention arranged with Schwarzenberg and lead

their troops across the Essonnes within the Austrian lines.

When the unfortunate soldiers, in the middle of the night, received their orders to cross the Essonnes and march towards Paris, they thought naturally that they were about to take part in a movement for the recovery of the capital. But their suspicions were soon aroused when they saw that the Allies did not oppose their march, and the word "treason" ran through the ranks. When the sun rose and the situation became clearer, the rear column under General Chastel, which was not yet surrounded by the enemy, turned back and recrossed the bridge.

When an aide de camp brought the news to Marmont at his hôtel in Paris, he went immediately to find Ney, who was on the point of returning with his colleagues to see the Czar and receive his answer. Marmont told them of the action of his generals and added, "I would give my arm if the report was not true." "Say your head," cried Marshal Ney, "and even that would not be enough!"

When the plenipotentiaries arrived at the hôtel of Talleyrand, where the news had already been received, they found that the last chance to save the Imperial throne had disappeared and that the restoration of the Bourbons was certain.

For the rest of his life the wretched marshal was pursued by a feeling of remorse. In vain the Bourbons loaded him with honors. At the last, in 1830, he was to prove their evil genius, as he had been that of Napoleon in 1814. Driven into exile by the fall of Charles the Tenth he ended his career at Schönbrunn, where he gave lessons in strategy to another exile not less unfortunate than himself, a young man who had been called the King of Rome, and who was then known only as the Duke of Reichstadt.

In the meantime Napoleon at Fontainebleau awaited impatiently the reply from Paris. In case of an unfavorable response he was determined to march immediately on the capital, fall upon the Allies, whose troops were

scattered in and around the city, defeat them in detail and reconquer his throne. Who can say that he would not have succeeded?

At this moment came the news of the treason of Marmont which ruined all his plans. Napoleon only pronounced these words, "L'ingrat, il sera plus malheureux que moi!"

When Caulaincourt, Ney and Macdonald returned to Fontainebleau on the evening of the fifth and reported the failure of their mission they found the Emperor calm and dignified, with no reproaches for any one.

After a night of reflexion, Napoleon finally decided to submit to the inevitable. In the morning he summoned the marshals to his cabinet, and there, on a little round mahogany table, he signed his second act of abdication:

"The allied Powers having declared that the Emperor was the only obstacle to the reëstablishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no sacrifice, even that of his life, which he is not ready to make in the interests of France."

From the sixth to the twentieth of April Napoleon remained at Fontainebleau in a state of great depression. On the twelfth Caulaincourt brought for his signature the treaty which had been concluded at Paris the night before. This treaty gave to Napoleon the title of Emperor, with the sovereignty of the island of Elba, and an allowance of two million francs a year. It also contained pecuniary provisions for his mother, Joséphine, Joseph, Louis, Hortense, Elisa and Pauline. He was also accorded the privilege of taking with him a body-guard of four hundred men.

This treaty, which the Allies considered the height of generosity, appeared to Napoleon to be an act of the most profound humiliation. He said that he would rather die than affix his name to so ignominious a convention. That night he took a dose of poison which he had carried in a sachet attached to a cord around his neck during the retreat from Moscow. But the poison had lost its strength

and only caused him intense pain without ending his life. His physician Yvan gave him an antidote which soon relieved him. "Tout, jusqu'à la mort, m'a trahi," he said, "je suis condamné à vivre encore."

When he awoke the following morning he enjoined upon his suite absolute secrecy regarding this attempt of which he was now ashamed. He had entirely recovered his usual calm self-possession, and during the course of the day he signed the treaty.

In the career of Napoleon, history and legend are confounded. To us the Great Emperor appears like a hero of Antiquity, and the veterans of his Old Guard are almost mythical personages like the legionaries of Cæsar. The "Adieux de Fontainebleau," the celebrated scene of the Emperor with the grenadiers of the Vieille Garde in the court of the Cheval-Blanc, seems like the final act of a great historical drama.

It is the twentieth of April, the day of his departure. In the court the Old Guard is drawn up in serried ranks. The travelling carriages are already waiting. On the stroke of midday the faithful Bertrand announces to the Emperor that all is ready. He traverses the gallery of Francis the First and descends the stairway of the Fer-à-Cheval with a firm and rapid step. The drums beat the charge. At the foot of the stairs the Emperor makes a sign that he wishes to speak, and the drums are silent.

"Soldiers of my Old Guard," he said, "I bid you farewell. For twenty years I have always found you in the path of honor and glory." After a few more words his voice broke. Then he continued: "Adieu, my children. I would like to press you all against my heart. Let me at least embrace your flag!" At these words General Petit seized the flag and came forward. Napoleon received him in his arms, and kissed the eagle of the standard. Then overcome with emotion he entered the carriage which was to bear him away to exile.

On the 27 April Napoleon arrived at Fréjus, and the following day he embarked. The vessel dropped anchor in

the harbor of Porto-Ferrajo the third of May, and the next afternoon he landed amidst the cheers of the inhabitants, who were proud of their new sovereign.

Elba lies in the Mediterranean between Corsica and Italy, at a distance of only seven miles from the mainland. The island has many times belonged to France, but to-day it is Italian. In all respects it is essentially Corsican. The island is about seventeen by twelve miles in size, the greater dimension being from east to west. The customs of the islanders are most primitive. The climate is hot and unhealthy; skin diseases are common, and typhus is a scourge. Such was the prison to which the Emperor had been consigned.

Napoleon, with his usual activity, at once visited every part of the island, on horseback or on foot, often walking for ten hours under heat that would have felled an ox. He at once began many municipal improvements. He repaired the roads, dredged the ports, and developed the mines. He introduced the olive, the lemon and the orange, which still flourish on the island. He also created an abundant water supply, and improved the health of the people by draining swamps and exterminating the mosquitoes. He gave the islanders their first lessons in cleanliness and sanitation.

After lodging for a short time in a few rooms of the Hôtel de Ville, the Emperor arranged for his home a building on the slope of the hill near the capital, acting as his own architect. This building the Elbans called the Mulini Palace. As no furniture could be obtained on the island Napoleon sent an expedition to the mainland to secure the furniture of the palace of Piombino belonging to his sister Elisa.

Three weeks after Napoleon reached Elba the Guard, who had left Fontainebleau several days before him, finally arrived. They were under the command of Cambronne, and numbered nearer 700 than the 400 men allowed by the Allies.

At the time of his arrival at Elba the Emperor had

about four million francs, nearly all of which he treated as a reserve fund only to be used in case of necessity, as he expected to live on the revenues of the island added to his allowance. The expenses of the administration of his little kingdom came to about 120,000 francs, and the revenues to nearly three times that sum, so that the budget was most satisfactory. There remained to be met, however, the Emperor's current expenses and the maintenance of his little army, which alone cost nearly one hundred thousand francs a month.

The Emperor's horses had come over with the Guard to join their old master in exile. They were seven in number and had been ridden by him in many campaigns of the Empire from Madrid to Moscow. There were also forty-eight horses to draw the various carriages, including the large sleeping-coach in which Napoleon had made the journey to the coast.

During the year Napoleon received two visits from his family. His sister Pauline came the last of May, but at that time only stayed two days. The first of August his mother arrived. A month later he received a visit from Mme. Walewska, who came to share his exile. But Napoleon only allowed her to remain for two days, as he was still hoping that Marie-Louise and his son would join him, and he wished to avoid any scandal. The Empress, however, had already consoled herself with Neipperg and had no idea of rejoining her husband.

Other cares now began to trouble the Emperor. The French Government had failed to pay his income and he had been forced to draw heavily on his reserve funds. His letters had no effect. France was as silent on this point, as was Austria regarding Marie-Louise. The Congress of Vienna was also debating whether it would not be safer to "remove" the Emperor to a point more distant from France. The outlook was far from reassuring.

The first of November Pauline returned and cheered Napoleon with her bright smiles. The life of the household was thoroughly domestic. The evenings were devoted to

games of cards or chess. The Emperor usually retired at nine o'clock, and rose an hour before déjeuner. He passed most of his days in excursions over the island, supervising the work which was going on. He occupied himself with the affairs of his little kingdom with the same attention that he formerly gave to his immense empire. On the whole his life was not so unhappy. After so many emotions he needed a little rest.

In this quiet routine passed the final months of 1814 and the first eight weeks of the following year. Then came the "Return from Elba," one of the most dramatic events in the history of the world.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

1815

WATERLOO

Napoleon Decides to Leave Elba — Reasons for His Return — The Landing at Cannes — March to the North — The Defile of Laffray — Arrival at Paris — The New Ministry — Napoleon's Reception at the Capital — The Champ de Mai — The Situation Changes — Personnel of the Army — Napoleon's Plans — The Theatre of War — The French Cross the Sambre — Ligny and Quatre Bras — Napoleon's Health — The Grouchy Orders — The Advance to Waterloo — The Field of Battle — The English Resistance — Arrival of the Prussians — The Great Cavalry Charge — The Old Guard — The Cause of Napoleon's Fall — The Emperor Returns to Paris — The Final Abdication

THE reasons for Napoleon's decision to return from Elba were partly personal and partly political. The personal reasons, which have already been alluded to, were, the refusal of the Emperor of Austria to allow his wife and son to rejoin him; the failure of the French Government to pay his allowance; and the talk at Vienna of removing him to the Azores or Saint Helena.

There were also numerous political reasons. The Bourbons, who had "learned nothing and forgotten nothing," during their long exile, were extremely unpopular in France. The King dated his first document from "the nineteenth year of my reign," as if there had never been a Republic and an Empire; he restored the white flag and banished the glorious tricolor which had been borne in triumph to every capital in Europe. He dissolved the Old Guard and formed the "Maison du Roi," a corps of 6000 Royalists. The peasants, by far the most numerous class in France, were alarmed at the demands of the nobles and the clergy for the restoration of their lands which had been confiscated and sold to the people. Moreover the Powers,

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at the Congress of Vienna, were quarrelling over the division of the spoils and the former allies seemed on the brink of war.

On Saturday, the 25 February 1815, at Porto-Ferrajo, the only subject of conversation was the ball to be given by the Princesse Pauline. The Emperor was present that evening, and was full of life. When he left at a late hour, he called Bertrand and Drouot to his room, and informed them of his intention to sail the next night.

On Sunday at five o'clock the little army of 1100 men received the order to embark on the six small vessels which composed the fleet. As had happened so many times before in his career, wind and wave were favorable to Napoleon, and the south wind which bore him to France kept Campbell the English commissioner becalmed in the harbor of Livorno.

On the afternoon of the fourth day Napoleon sailed into the Golfe Juan and landed near Cannes. Around the headland to the left was Fréjus where he had been welcomed home from Egypt, and whence he had sailed for Elba. A little farther to the west was Toulon where his name first became known, and whence he sailed for the Orient. Beyond the cape to the east was Nice where he took command of the Army of Italy. The whole littoral for him was full of memories. To-day, on the avenue from Cannes to Nice the tourist sees in the shade of a tree by the roadside a simple shaft of stone bearing only the inscription: "Souvenir du 1er mars 1815." This marks the spot where Napoleon landed.

Turning away from the royalist towns of the coast of Provence, the Emperor at once marched north into the mountains. His first objective was Grenoble, a district which he believed would be favorable to him. Just before reaching this place, on the seventh of March, there occurred a scene without parallel in the history of the world. In the defile of Laffray there is a narrow road between lake and hills. Here he found a battalion of infantry drawn up in order of battle, commanded by Delessart. This

officer, who was only nineteen years of age, was a nephew of General Marchand, the commander of Grenoble. Although he was then very bitter against Napoleon, under the Second Empire he became Marshal of France and Minister of War.

Napoleon, who had ridden up with his lancers, now dismounted. He ordered his soldiers to carry their muskets reversed under their left arms, and at their head advanced towards the battalion. He wore his well-known hat with the little cockade, and the traditional gray redingote. "There he is! Fire!" cried Captain Randon. The soldiers were livid, their knees shook and their hands trembled. When he was within a few paces Napoleon opened his overcoat and said: "If there is amongst you a soldier who would slay his Emperor, here I am!" A great shout arose of "Vive l'Empereur!" The soldiers tore off their white cockades, broke ranks, and rushed to surround their beloved commander. Randon set spurs to his horse and rode away, while Delessart burst into tears and surrendered his sword to the Emperor, who comforted him.

Before leaving Elba Napoleon had said, "I shall arrive in Paris without firing a shot"; and in his proclamation to the Army he had written, "The eagle will fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of Notre-Dame." Both of these predictions were verified. From Grenoble to Paris Napoleon's journey was one long ovation. At Lyon, a large force under Macdonald melted away at his approach. Ney, who had promised the King that he would bring Bonaparte back in an "iron cage," was deserted by his own soldiers, who left him with cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" Unable to resist the general contagion, he too went to offer his sword to Napoleon, who received him with open arms.

The monarchy fell to pieces like a house of cards. The troops sent to stop Napoleon's march joined his army. A placard was attached to the Vendôme Column: "Napoleon to Louis XVIII. My good brother, it is useless to send any more troops: I have enough."

Napoleon accomplished the last stage of his journey, from Fontainebleau to Paris, in a carriage escorted by only half a dozen Polish lancers. A little before midnight on Palm Sunday, the 19 March, the King left the Tuileries, and before noon the following day the tricolor was flying over the Palace and all the public buildings in Paris. The funds which, on the news of Napoleon's landing, had fallen ten points, had already recovered half their loss.

On Monday evening, Hortense, several of the marshals, and many of the former ministers and dignitaries of the Empire were waiting at the Tuileries for the arrival of the master. There was a thick fog and a sprinkle of rain, but the expectant crowd could see the lights in the windows. About nine o'clock a distant sound of horses was heard. A post-chaise entered the court-yard at a trot, followed by a thousand horsemen crying, "Vive l'Empereur!" They were troops who had been sent out the evening before to fight him. Napoleon was lifted from the carriage and borne up the grand staircase in the arms of his Old Guard. At length he reached his cabinet and the doors were closed against the crowd.

Such was the return from Elba, one of the most marvellous episodes in history. It was resolved upon and arranged by Napoleon alone, and surprised the Bonapartes as much as it did the Bourbons. It was a movement of the people, assisted by the army. Peasant and soldier marched side by side. It was a great tribute to the popularity of the Emperor and the most impressive form of plébiscite. Landing on the coast of France with 1100 men, Napoleon had marched in triumph to the capital and entered the Tuileries to find his Court around him and the palace decorated and illuminated for his reception. If supreme power is ever to be founded on the basis of a nation's will, no sovereign in history ever had a clearer title to his throne than the right of Napoleon to reign over France.

The Emperor was able to nominate his ministers on the very night of his arrival. Maret became Secretary of State,

and Cambacérès, Minister of Justice, while Gaudin took charge of the Finances. It is remarkable that all three were members of the Consular Government after the 18 Brumaire. Davout consented with some reluctance to be Minister of War. Caulaincourt again took the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. Savary refused the post of head of the police, and Napoleon reluctantly appointed that notorious turncoat Fouché. The veteran Carnot, "the organizer of victory," was made Minister of the Interior. It was a strong Ministry, made up of men of talent and experience.

But Napoleon's fate was to be decided at Vienna and not at Paris. When the news of his return was received there, a declaration was drawn up and signed placing Napoleon under the ban of Europe as a public enemy. The rigor of this decree has been generally condemned, and the English historians try in vain to defend it.

There were a few civil disturbances, in the Vendée and the South, but the Imperial Government was immediately recognized almost everywhere.

Although Napoleon at once made overtures of peace, his arrival at the Tuileries was regarded by the other Powers as a declaration of war. His circular address to the sovereigns was stopped at the frontiers. The members of the Bonaparte family who were outside the limits of France were interned.

But if these were the sentiments of the rulers, the feeling of the peoples was very different. In Italy, in Belgium, and along the Rhine, the return of Napoleon was hailed with joy. But the general voice of Germany called out for an invasion of France. In England public opinion was divided. The Government was in favor of war, while the Whigs made a popular hero of Napoleon.

At Paris Napoleon, in order to reassure the people, did his best to conceal the hostile designs of the Powers, and the city remained quite calm. At the same time he reviewed every day in the Carrousel the soldiers who were leaving for the frontier. He also showed himself con-

On the first of June a large Austrian army under Schwarzenberg was nearing the Rhine, and Russia was also making great military preparations. Across the frontier in Belgium an Anglo-Prussian army was assembled near Brussels.

Napoleon considered two plans of operations. He could either await the enemy's attack, which would give him more time to organize and equip his army, and a better chance of success, or advance to the attack himself and endeavor to crush a part of the allied forces before the rest could come up. For many reasons he chose the latter course. Of his 200,000 men he kept 120,000 in hand as his main army, and sent the remainder to the Vendée, Italy, the Rhine and the Pyrenees.

The military situation at the opening of the campaign was favorable to Napoleon. The allied army was spread out on a line of over eighty miles along the Belgian frontier. They needed two entire days to assemble on the same battle-field. Wellington's headquarters were at Brussels, Blücher's at Namur. The English line of communications ran through Brussels to Antwerp, the Prussian, through Liège to Cologne; in case of disaster the lines of retreat would diverge.

It is interesting to note that in his last campaign Napoleon was confronted by exactly the same problem as in his first, and that he solved it in the same way. Now, as in 1796, his opponents were superior in numbers, occupied an extended front, and had divergent lines of communications. He decided as before to strike in full force at the point of junction, drive a wedge between the two armies, and throw them back on their respective bases. The plan was a Napoleonic masterpiece, but its execution was far from perfect. Nevertheless it almost succeeded, and was lost by but a few hours' delay.

The theatre of the 1815 campaign is bounded on the south by the Sambre from Maubeuge to Namur. About midway between these two places lies Charleroi where one of the main roads to Brussels crosses the river. Ten

miles to the north this chaussée is cut by the paved road which runs from Hal through Nivelles to Namur, and this crossroads is known as Quatre Bras. Ligny lies a mile south of this road, northeast of Charleroi. About twenty miles to the north of Charleroi is the little village of Waterloo, a short ten miles to the east of which is Wavre. The ground is rolling, and mostly open, with country roads running in every direction, and no streams of any importance. All of the operations of the campaign were conducted within the irregular triangle whose apex is Brussels, and the base a line drawn from Mons through Charleroi to Namur.

In the early hours of the 15 June the French army crossed the Sambre at Charleroi without opposition, and took Wellington and Blücher completely by surprise. The first definite information they received was from Bourmont the commander of the vanguard of the French right column who went over to the enemy and betrayed the Emperor's plans. During the day the French left wing under Ney pushed back the enemy's outposts towards Quatre Bras but failed to reach that point. One corps under Vandamme encamped near Fleurus, just south of Ligny, while the Guard and the corps of Gérard and Lobau were near Charleroi. At the same time Blücher took up a battle position near Ligny and Wellington hurried up reinforcements to his troops at Quatre Bras. These arrangements led to the two battles of the sixteenth.

In the battle of Ligny fought on the 16 June, Blücher had about 80,000 men against the 70,000 of Napoleon. When the Emperor found the Prussians were in force at Ligny, he sent orders to Ney, and also direct to Erlon, for the First Corps to support his frontal attack upon Ligny. But when Erlon did not appear he finally sent in the Guard, who drove the Prussians from their position.

At the same time Ney had attacked the English at Quatre Bras with Reille's corps. Owing to the contradictory orders received by Erlon from Napoleon and Ney, his corps spent the afternoon in marching and counter-

marching between the two battle-fields and took no part in the fighting at either place. Consequently Ney was repulsed at Quatre Bras, and Napoleon's victory at Ligny was not decisive. The battle did not end until ten o'clock and no pursuit was attempted that night. All that Ney had accomplished was to contain Wellington. The whole operation, save for the fatal loss of time, had been well carried out, and Napoleon felt satisfied with the opening act of the campaign. He had broken through the allied centre, and had beaten Blücher singly. The immediate thing for him to do was vigorously to pursue the routed Prussians and prevent them from rallying and uniting with the English. This Napoleon failed to do. He returned to his quarters at eleven o'clock in such a state of fatigue that he was incapable of action. On the previous day he had been on horseback for nearly eighteen hours directing the movements of his troops, and during the battle of Ligny he had again spent many hours in the saddle, through a day of terrible heat. Much has been written regarding the condition of Napoleon's health during this campaign, but the evidence seems to show that he was in his usual health, although he may have suffered from a local ailment which rendered horseback riding painful and fatiguing.

The seventeenth Napoleon was very late in rising and no orders were issued until eight o'clock. He then gave Grouchy command of the corps of Vandamme and Gérard, over 30,000 men, and sent him in pursuit of Blücher. The Emperor naturally supposed that the Prussians had retreated to the northeast towards Liège. Instead of that Blücher had abandoned his line of communications and was retiring on Wavre.

For many years after the battle of Waterloo a wholly false notion was prevalent as to the task assigned by Napoleon to Grouchy. The marshal denied over and over again that he had received any written order from the Emperor to supplement the verbal instructions referred to above. It was not until 1842 that the Bertrand dispatch

was published in which Napoleon says, that it is important to penetrate whether the Prussians "are separating themselves from the English or whether they are intending still to unite to cover Brussels or Liège, in trying the fate of another battle." This order clearly shows that Napoleon distinctly recognized the possibility of the Prussians uniting with the English, and that, in this case, he expected Grouchy to act in conjunction with the main army. That Grouchy, in spite of his many denials, fully understood his task is shown by his dispatch of the 17 June, at 10 P.M., in which he says that if the Prussians retire on Wavre he will follow them in that direction "in order that they may not be able to gain Brussels, and to separate them from Wellington."

After giving these orders to Grouchy, Napoleon with the remainder of his army marched to Quatre Bras to join Ney. On reaching there at one o'clock he found that Wellington had gone. He immediately followed, and on his arrival at La Belle-Alliance the same evening he found the English army drawn up at Mont-Saint-Jean, evidently resolved to give battle.

South of Brussels for many miles stretches the large Forest of Soignes. At a distance of three leagues from the capital, on the edge of the woods, lies the little village of Waterloo, the headquarters of Wellington, which gave its name to the battle. Two miles farther on is Mont-Saint-Jean where the battle was fought.

A glance at the map will show that the salient points of the battle-field of Waterloo form an almost perfect letter A. The top of the letter, where the two highroads from Nivelles and Charleroi to Brussels join is Mont-Saint-Jean: there is Wellington; the lower right point is La Belle-Alliance: there is Napoleon; the lower left point is Hougomont, an old stone château, which lay in a large grove, and with its enclosing walls stood like a kind of fortress just in front of the French lines.

The cord or crosspiece of the A is a by-road which inter-

sects the two highroads at right angles, and, like many of the Belgian roads, in places is sunk much below the level of the fields.

This road which borders the crest of the plateau of Mont-Saint-Jean and cuts the Brussels route at right angles covered almost the entire English position with a line of natural obstacles. To the east of the highway, the road was on a level with the fields, but a double border of high and thick hedges rendered it impassable by cavalry. To the west, the road was sunk from five to ten feet, between two banks, and thus formed for a distance of over four hundred yards a formidable intrenchment. By many historians the existence of this sunken road is entirely ignored, while others seem to doubt that there was such an obstacle. This is perhaps due to the fact that this part of the field was much changed a few years after the battle in the construction of the immense "Mound of the Belgian Lion." At that time the hedges were cut down and the sunken road was obliterated. That these two features existed at the time of the battle, however, is clearly shown in the official engineer's map drawn up in 1816. This road must not be forgotten, as it played a very important part in the battle.

Just below the point where the cord joins the right down-stroke of the A is La Haie-Sainte, whose buildings and walls were fortified and held like those of Hougomont by the English. The triangle comprised between the point, the two down-strokes, and the cord of the A is the plateau of Mont-Saint-Jean, the centre of the British line. This plateau in a way dominates the surrounding country; and on its southern slopes was drawn up Wellington's army numbering about 70,000 men. In its front, along a lower crest less than a mile away was the army of Napoleon, which was of about the same size. Between the plateaux on which the two armies were posted, the ground is much lower, so that the French had to march up-hill to attack.

Opposite La Haie-Sainte, nearer the other down-stroke of the A, now rises the "Mound of the Belgian Lion." The

mound is two hundred feet in height and is surmounted by a huge lion cast from the metal of French cannon captured in the battle. In order to build this large mound, many thousand wagon-loads of earth were taken from the plateau, and this has much changed the contour of the country, so that at the present time it is not easy to recognize many of the salient points. In the Banqueting Hall of the old palace of Whitehall in London, now occupied by the Royal United Service Museum, there is a large model of the battle which gives a better idea of the disposition and movements of the forces on the eventful day, than an actual visit to the field.

Although naturally strong, for defensive purposes, the British position was subject to the defect of having its line of retreat along a single narrow road through a dense forest, and in case of defeat the English army would have been practically annihilated.

At Waterloo, as in Russia, the Emperor owed his defeat largely to the elements. It was always his habit to begin his battles at day-break. On the 18 June, almost the longest day in the year, the sun in this northern latitude rose about four o'clock, and the battle, if commenced at dawn, in all probability would have been over and the English army destroyed before noon. But it had rained in torrents the previous night and the ground was too soft for artillery manœuvres. Napoleon, who had a large superiority in guns, and who had never forgotten that he was once an officer of artillery, therefore waited until nearly noon for the ground to dry and harden before giving the signal for attack.

Although the English made a brave resistance, at four o'clock the battle was decidedly going against them. Wellington frequently looked at his watch, and "wished to God that night or Blücher would come."

At this crisis of the battle, when a decisive French victory seemed certain, the Prussians began to arrive on the field and the Emperor had to send a part of his reserves to hold them in check.

The English army had already begun to fall back, and troops were no longer to be seen on the front of the opposite plateau. Napoleon now decided to make a supreme effort to break the English centre by a charge of the cavalry of the Old Guard. Before giving the order, he once more carefully surveyed the field with his glass. His trained eye noticed a dark line running parallel to the enemy's front, and only a few hundred feet before it. He leaned over in his saddle and asked a question of the Belgian guide who stood beside his horse. The answer was negative.

The Emperor then sent an aide de camp to give the order to charge. Ney drew his sword and put himself at the head of the Guard. No such sight had been seen since the taking of the great redoubt by the heavy cavalry at Borodino. This magnificent body of horsemen, sixty-five hundred in number, descended the hill at a trot, disappeared in the battle-smoke, and then reappeared at the other side of the valley, mounting the hill at full gallop. It seemed as if nothing could resist the impact of this solid mass of men.

Suddenly, at the right of the line, the front rank tried to pull rein. Arrived almost at the top of the hill, the cuirassiers for the first time perceived between them and the English a deep moat; it was the sunken road! It was a terrible moment, an unlooked for catastrophe. The first line attempted to pull up, but the second line pushed the first, and the third shoved the second. There was no way of holding back. The impetus acquired to annihilate the English crushed the French. When this ditch was full of living men and horses the rear squadrons passed over their bodies. Nearly a third of one brigade perished in this hole. The negative reply of a treacherous guide to the Emperor's inquiry had brought about this fatality which perhaps decided the fate of Napoleon.

Although the full force of the charge had been broken, the plateau was taken by the French, but they were unable to maintain themselves there and were finally forced to

retire. There is little doubt that this charge, but for the catastrophe of the sunken road, would have broken the British centre and decided the battle. Wellington, who was so nearly defeated, could not repress an exclamation of admiration. He said: "Splendid!"

When, finally exhausted, the French cavalry turned and drifted down the slope, it was followed by the entire English army. The French were becoming demoralized and Napoleon was obliged to put in his last reserve, the infantry of the Old Guard.

The sky had been covered all day. All at once, at this very moment, about eight o'clock in the evening, the clouds parted in the west, and there appeared the large red ball of the setting sun. It was the rising sun which had greeted Napoleon on the field of Austerlitz!

For this last effort, every battalion of the Guard was commanded by a general. When the tall bear-skin caps of the grenadiers appeared amidst the gloom of the falling night, the enemy for a moment recoiled at the sight of these veterans of so many wars of the Empire, who never yet had advanced except to victory. Knowing that they were going to die, they still saluted Napoleon as of old with cries of "Vive l'Empereur!"

Although the Guard heard the cries of "Sauve qui peut!" and saw their fellow-soldiers retiring all around them, they continued to advance. They were led by Marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave." After having five horses shot under him, he advanced on foot, a broken sword in his hand, crying to the English: "Venez voir comment meurt un Maréchal de France sur le champ de bataille!" But in vain: he bore a charmed life. He was to meet his fate from French bullets!

Night had now come, and only a few squares of the Guard remained. Abandoned by all, terrible in their expiring agony, they still fought on. Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, Wagram were dying in them.

At nine o'clock only one square was left at the foot of the plateau of Saint-Jean. The English, filled with admira-

MARSHAL BLUCHER

tion for so much heroism, suspended their fire, and an officer cried, "Brave Frenchmen, surrender!" Cambronne gave the immortal reply: "La Garde meurt et ne se rend pas!"

Says Victor Hugo: "The man who gained the battle of Waterloo was not Napoleon, who was routed; it was not Wellington, giving way at four, hopeless at five; it was not Blücher, who took no part in the battle; the man who gained the battle of Waterloo was Cambronne."

At the reply of Cambronne the English officer cried: "Fire!" When the smoke rolled away, nothing was left: like the fortunes of Napoleon, the Old Guard had passed away upon the bloody field of Waterloo!

As the Old Guard went in, Napoleon had started to descend into the valley to share their fate, but two faithful aides de camp seized the reins of his bridle, and led him, like a man in a dream, from the field.

What was the cause of the downfall of Napoleon?

The question has been asked a million times and answered in many different ways. The treason of Bourmont, the incapacity of Grouchy, and the rashness of Ney undoubtedly had much to do with the failure of the campaign. Too much stress has been laid by some historians on the failing health of the Emperor, and the decline in his mental powers, of which there is little evidence.

Says Victor Hugo in his splendid sketch of the battle of Waterloo, in the second volume of "Les Misérables":

"Was it possible for Napoleon to win the battle? We answer in the negative. Why? On account of Wellington? On account of Blücher? No; on account of God.

"Bonaparte, victor at Waterloo, would not harmonize with the law of the nineteenth century."

Says John Holland Rose at the conclusion of his brilliant Lowell Lectures on the "Personality of Napoleon":

"In a world which his energies had awakened to full consciousness such a career could not achieve lasting success. Providence uses such men while they serve its

mysterious designs for the uplifting of the race. It casts them aside when their renovating work is accomplished. Napoleon saw not when that time had come. He struggled on towards the Indies, Cadiz, and Moscow as though the new age of nationality had not dawned; and therefore he ended his days at Saint Helena."

Says Maréchal Foch in an essay published on the one-hundreth anniversary of the death of Napoleon: "In my opinon the deep reason for the disaster which overwhelmed him was that he forgot that a man cannot be God; that, above the individual, there is the Nation; that above men, there is the Moral Law; and that war is not the highest goal, since, above war, there is peace."

Napoleon reached Charleroi at five o'clock on the morning after the battle. Leaving orders for the army to rendezvous at Laon, he immediately proceeded to Paris where he arrived early on the twenty-first and went to the Elysée. He was completely worn out with fatigue.

His brother Lucien advised him to seize the reins of power by a coup d'état, but Napoleon was no longer equal to such a course. He sent his brother with a message to the Chamber of Deputies asking them to concert measures for the national defence. In the evening Carnot went to the Peers and Lucien to the Deputies to appeal for a united national effort against the Powers, but their pleas were of no effect. On the 22 June, under the advice of his ministers, Napoleon took the final act of his official career and abdicated in favor of his son. But the Deputies refused to recognize Napoleon the Second, and at once appointed an executive Commission of five members of which Fouché was chosen President.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

1815–1821

SAINT HELENA

Napoleon Leaves for Rochefort — Surrenders to England — Sent to Saint Helena — Arrives at Jamestown — Longwood — His Companions in Exile — The Bertrands — The Montholons — Las Cases — Gourgaud — His Journal — The Books of Las Cases and Montholon — Antommarchi — Sir Hudson Lowe — Napoleon's Grievances — Last Portrait of the Emperor — The Rooms at Longwood — Napoleon's Books — His Occupations — Last Illness and Death — His Remains Brought Back to France — His Tomb in the Invalides

ON the Sunday after the battle of Waterloo, the 25 June, Napoleon left his capital for the last time and went to Malmaison. Here he remained for four days in a state of indecision very foreign to his usual character. But the Allies were fast approaching Paris, and he was forced to leave. On Thursday, for the first time in many years, he put on civilian dress, and said adieu to his mother and Queen Hortense. On the lawn at Malmaison a stone still marks the spot where he entered the carriage that was to bear him away to exile. That night at the château of Rambouillet he slept for the last time beneath a palace roof. The next day he proceeded by way of Tours to the naval port of Rochefort. Here he hoped to find a vessel to take him to the United States, his chosen place of refuge, but he found the harbor blockaded by the British fleet. Even to the last, the "wooden walls" of England were to prove an obstacle which he could not overcome. Joseph offered him the cabin which he had engaged aboard an American ship sailing from Bordeaux, but Napoleon refused to secure his own safety at the expense of his brother's.

Finally he decided to surrender to Great Britain, and throw himself on the mercy of his most bitter foe. On the

14 July, the national fête day, he went aboard the "Bellerophon," which immediately set sail for England. After a slow voyage of a week the vessel dropped anchor in the lovely harbor of Torbay, which Napoleon said reminded him of Porto-Ferrajo. Two days later the captain received orders to proceed to Plymouth. After four days of suspense in the harbor there, Admiral Lord Keith arrived with an order that "General Buonaparte" should be conveyed to the island of Saint Helena.

The Government allowed the captive to choose three officers and a physician to accompany him. Napoleon selected Bertrand, Montholon, and Gourgaud, for his companions in exile, and Las Cases was added to the number in the coveted post of secretary. The "Bellerophon" then sailed for Torbay where the Emperor and his suite were transferred on the seventh of August to a newer ship, the "Northumberland", which had been chosen for the voyage. At this time, Bertrand asked that O'Meara, the surgeon of the "Bellerophon," be designated to accompany the Emperor in place of the physician originally selected, and the admiral consented to the change.

During the voyage Napoleon passed most of his days in his cabin, where he at once began to dictate his recollections to Las Cases. He dined every day with the admiral and the ship's officers, with whom he conversed freely. In the evening he played cards or chess in the general cabin.

After a voyage of sixty-seven days, the exiles sighted the frowning cliffs of Saint Helena, "that black wart rising out of the ocean." After dark the next day, the 17 October, Napoleon landed, and passed the night at a house prepared for his reception at Jamestown. On the morrow he was up at dawn and rode with Admiral Cockburn and Bertrand to Longwood, which had been selected for his residence. Napoleon seemed satisfied with the arrangement, and expressed a desire to occupy the house as soon as it could be altered for his occupancy. In the meantime he took up his abode for seven weeks in a little bungalow near the town named "The Briars."

A more solitary, out-of-the-way place than Saint Helena could not have been chosen for the captive eagle. The island is only ten miles by seven in dimensions, and its population at the time was less than three thousand, only a quarter of whom were white. It lies almost in the middle of the South Atlantic, 1700 miles east of Brazil and 1200 miles west of the mouth of the Congo, nearly 4000 miles from the Strait of Gibraltar.

"And where, may we ask," says the apologetic Mr. Rose, "could a less unpleasant place of detention have been found? In Europe he must inevitably have submitted to far closer confinement. The Tower of London, the eyrie of Dumbarton Castle, even Fort William itself, were named as possible places of detention. Were they suited to the child of the Mediterranean? He needed sun; he needed exercise; he needed society. All these he could have on the plateau of Longwood, in a singularly equable climate, where the heat of the tropics is assuaged by the south-east trade wind, and plants of the sub-tropical and temperate zones alike flourish."

It was December, and the tropical summer had come, before the Emperor took up his residence in his final home at Longwood. For the former proprietor of so many sumptuous palaces, his generous host, the British nation, had provided as an abode an old one-story cow-stable, which had been remodelled for his residence. From the porch one entered a fair-sized billiard-room, and passed through into the salon, beyond which was the dining-room, lighted only by a glass door. Opening out of this room, on the left was the library, and on the right Napoleon's private suite comprising a study, bedroom and bath.

The landscape was as bare and dreary as the house. To the south, beyond the barren plateau, with its gnarled and stunted gum trees, lay the boundless expanse of the Atlantic. In all other directions the eye rested only on the scant verdure of the valleys or the bleak walls of the mountains. Such was the earthly Paradise which Mr. Rose so eloquently describes!

Unfortunately, Napoleon's household at Longwood was hardly more congenial than the surroundings of the island. The personages of this long tragedy are few in number, and of some of them we catch only occasional glimpses.

Bertrand, the former Maréchal du Palais, and aide de camp of the Emperor, was an engineer officer of distinction. He was devoted to his master, and not less devoted to his wife. He possessed the singular distinction among the companions of the Emperor of being the only one who did not write a book. This, in a way, is to be regretted, for except Montholon he is the only one who stayed till the end, and of the last three years of Napoleon's life we know but little. In his loyal silence he remains the most sympathetic figure of the Emperor's *entourage*.

Madame Bertrand was the daughter of Arthur Dillon, Colonel of the Dillon Regiment, celebrated in the history of France. By his first marriage he had one daughter who married the Marquis de La Tour du Pin and was the author of the interesting "Recollections of the Revolution and the Empire." After the death of his wife Dillon married a widow, Mme. de La Touche, a first cousin of the Empress Joséphine. When Fanny Dillon was twenty-three years of age, in 1808, the Emperor himself arranged her marriage with his favorite aide de camp, who was twelve years her senior. She was a most engaging, fascinating woman, with something of the Creole charm of Joséphine. She spoke English with perfect fluency. At Plymouth she entreated her husband not to follow Napoleon to Saint Helena, made a scene in his cabin, and then attempted to drown herself. After this first tumult of Creole passion she seems to have become reconciled to her lot; she won the regard and good-will of all who knew her, and was the peace-maker of the little community. One trait of humor is recorded of her. At Saint Helena a child was born to her, whom she presented to the Emperor as "the first French visitor who had entered Longwood without Lord Bathurst's permission."

Of the personality of M. and Mme. de Montholon we

catch but a faint view at Saint Helena. He had known Napoleon ever since he was a child, when he went to Corsica with his mother and his stepfather M. de Sémonville. He was afterwards at school in Paris with Jérôme, and Eugène de Beauharnais. It was his strange fate to share for six years the exile of the Great Emperor, and then twenty years later, after the fiasco of Boulogne, to share for the same period of time, in the fortress of Ham, the imprisonment of his nephew, the future Napoleon the Third.

After the departure of Las Cases he succeeded to the vacant place of secretary, and became the most necessary member of the Emperor's staff. He wished, however, to accompany his wife when she left in 1819, and only remained at the urgent request of Napoleon.

Of his wife we know but little. Curiously enough her marriage with Montholon had at one time been forbidden by the Emperor because she had two divorced husbands living, but he was afterwards tricked into giving his consent to Montholon's marriage with the "niece of the President Séguier," without realizing that the bride was the same woman under another description.

Las Cases had had a very checkered career. In his youth he had entered the French navy, and had risen to the command of a brig. At the beginning of the Revolution he was among the first to emigrate. After the 18 Brumaire he returned to France, and became a councillor of state. At the time of the Restoration he retired to England, but again returned to France during the Hundred Days, and after Waterloo besought Napoleon to take him to Saint Helena. Born three years before the Emperor, he survived him by twenty-one. With him was his son, then a boy, who in 1840 returned with the expedition to bring back Napoleon's remains; he afterwards became a senator under the Second Empire.

Gourgaud was born in 1783 at Versailles where his father was a musician at the royal chapel. At a very early age he entered the army, and fought with distinction in all the campaigns of the Empire from Austerlitz to Water-

loo. For exceptional services in Russia he received the title of baron. During the Hundred Days he was named general and aide de camp by the Emperor. After the battle of Waterloo he returned with Napoleon to Paris, and accompanied him to Rochefort and England, and became one of his companions in exile.

At Longwood his extreme vanity soon brought him into collision with Las Cases and Montholon. Tiring of the life at Saint Helena he returned to England. In 1840 he was a member of the party which brought back the remains of the Emperor. He died in 1852 on the eve of the proclamation of the Second Empire, but his "Journal de Sainte-Hélène" was not published until 1899.

In the opinion of Lord Rosebery the one capital and supreme record of the life at Saint Helena is the private journal of Gourgaud, written for his own eye, without flattery or even prejudice, almost brutal in its raw realism. He alone of all the chroniclers strove to be accurate and on the whole succeeded. His portrait of Napoleon is the most pleasing which exists. But the curse of his life was his jealous temperament which rendered him an impossible companion and made Napoleon glad to get rid of him. He quarrelled with everybody, the Emperor included. By all who knew him, and did not have to live with him, he was highly esteemed. But in the little community at Longwood he was out of place.

What makes Gourgaud's book profoundly interesting and valuable is the new and interesting view it affords of Napoleon's real character. We are apt to think of him as selfish and domineering. But in this record we see a new Napoleon, strange and contrary to our ideas, a Napoleon such as few but Rapp have hitherto presented to us. Rapp, the most independent and unflattering of all Napoleon's generals, and who as his aide de camp was constantly at his side says: "Many people describe Napoleon as a harsh, violent, passionate man. It is because they never knew him. Absorbed as he was in his affairs, opposed in his plans, hampered in his projects, his humor was sometimes im-

patient and fluctuating. But he was so good and so generous that he was soon appeased." Says the Emperor's private secretary, "I always found him kind, patient, indulgent." Many other testimonies of the same kind might be quoted. Gourgaud unconsciously depicts Napoleon as gentle, patient, good-tempered, trying to sooth his touchy and morbid attendant with something like the tenderness of a kind parent for a wayward child. No one at Saint Helena had more to endure than the Emperor, who was so little trained to patience, and few men would have borne his trials so well.

The book of Las Cases, first published in eight volumes, and subsequently in abridged form under the title of "Memorial of Saint Helena," had a very large circulation. It is alleged to have been written from day to day, and to give an exact report of Napoleon's conversations. When corroborated by other evidence it may be considered a faithful transcript, but its value is much impaired by the number of spurious documents which it contains. Hardly one of these is genuine, and it has always been a mystery where he obtained them. Certainly not from the Emperor, for it is known that at the time he left Paris he confided to his brother Joseph the letters which he considered the most important: they were bound in volumes.

It was chiefly to Montholon that Napoleon dictated the notes on his career which form so interesting, though not always trustworthy, a commentary on the events of the first part of his life. While Las Cases left the island in November 1816, and Gourgaud in January 1818, Montholon remained till the end. His memoirs were published in two volumes at Paris in 1847 under the title of "Récits de la captivité de l'Empereur Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène." The book is so interesting that it is a matter of regret that it was not published in its entirety. As it stands there are obvious suppressions, due no doubt to the author's veneration for Napoleon's memory, and solicitude for the political fortunes of his nephew.

For the final days of the Emperor we have no chronicles except those of Antommarchi, the least reliable of them all. He was a young Corsican surgeon of some reputation, and arrived at Saint Helena eighteen months before Napoleon's death. He did not get on well with the Emperor, who considered him too young and inexperienced. He certainly made a wrong diagnosis of Napoleon's case, and treated him for a liver trouble which he considered trifling. He rendered one service however which almost makes up for his mendacious book: he took a cast of Napoleon's face after his death. The original of this, now at Brussels, "represents the exquisite and early beauty of the countenance, when illness had transmuted passion into patience, and when death, with its last serene touch, had restored the regularity and refinement of youth."

Of O'Meara's "Voice from Saint Helena," the less said the better. Unknown to Napoleon the man was the confidential agent of Lowe, and his book is so obviously tainted as to be worthless.

The years spent at Saint Helena were of immense service to the Napoleonic tradition. Most historians seem to regard the Hundred Days as a mere epilogue to the great drama of the First Empire's fall, not realizing that it was in point of fact a prologue to the strange romance of the rise of the Second Empire. This attitude is revealed in the most interesting English study of Napoleon's captivity at Saint Helena. To Lord Rosebery that captivity is "the last phase," and nothing more. But the importance of this phase cannot be rightly appreciated if we overlook the constructive work of Napoleon during his captivity. Saint Helena saw not only the end of a great career, but the beginning of a great creation: it was the scene not merely of the death of Napoleon, but of the birth of the Napoleonic Legend.

It is impossible even after the lapse of a century to speak in terms of moderation of England's treatment of Napoleon. Lord Rosebery says: "Were it possible, we would ignore all this literature, as it is peculiarly painful for an

Englishman to read. He must regret that his government ever undertook the custody of Napoleon, and he must regret still more that the duty should have been discharged in a spirit so ignoble and through agents so unfortunate."

The delicate post of Governor of Saint Helena during Napoleon's captivity was entrusted to Sir Hudson Lowe, a narrow, ignorant man, without a vestige of tact or sympathy. He was in no sense of the word a gentleman. Although his intentions may have been good, he was in every way unfitted for the task. These remarks are not the impressions only of the present writer: the verdict of history is almost unanimous. Even the Duke of Wellington says: "Lowe was a very bad choice; he was a man wanting in education and judgment." After a few interviews, six in all, and those in the first three months of his term of office, Napoleon refused to see him, and during the last five years of his life they never met.

The grievances of which Napoleon complained may be ranged under three heads: those relating to title, to finance, and to custody.

When Lowe invited Napoleon to dinner soon after his arrival he addressed him as "General Buonaparte." The Emperor regarded this as an affront. It is impossible to conceive any ground on which his title was disputed. He had been recognized as Emperor by every Power in the world except Great Britain, and even England had informally recognized him as Emperor of the French, as also his heirs and successors in perpetuity, in the official documents of the peace negotiations at Châtillon in 1814, which were signed by the plenipotentiaries of all the Allies, including "His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." He had been anointed Emperor by the Pope himself, and twice solemnly crowned, once as Emperor and once as King. He had received every sanction which tradition or religion or diplomacy could give to the Imperial title. It is difficult to imagine any reason for England's action except that of petty annoyance to a hated foe. The attitude of the

British Government would be pitiable were it not ridiculous. It seems almost incredible, but it is true, that this contemptible policy did not end even with the Emperor's death. His followers wished to put on his tomb the simple inscription, "Napoleon," with the date and place of his birth and death. But Lowe refused to allow this unless "Bonaparte" was added, so the tomb bore no inscription.

Next was the question of finance, which may be treated briefly. Napoleon and his household of fifty-one persons in all were to cost £8000, while that expensive luxury Sir Hudson Lowe alone received a salary of £12,000. If the Emperor required anything more he could provide it himself. Although Napoleon's own wants were very simple, the total expenses seem to have been considerably more than double the allowance. Napoleon ordered his silver sold to make up the deficit, and the governor generously increased the allowance to an amount equal to his salary. But Bathurst, his official chief, again cut the amount down to the original sum. All this, however, so far as Napoleon was concerned, was more or less of a comedy. He did not need to sell a single spoon, for he had ample funds at Paris, and even at Saint Helena. He was only trying to show up the meanness of the English Government, and in this he succeeded.

The last group of grievances related to the question of custody, and in its relation to the health and comfort of the captive this was by far the most serious of all. The precautions taken to prevent Napoleon's escape would have been ludicrous if the effect on his health had not been so grave. The plateau of Longwood is separated from the rest of the island by a frightful gully which entirely surrounds it, and is only approached by a narrow tongue of land twenty feet broad. In spite of these facts this pathway was guarded by a regiment of soldiers and a park of artillery. At night the chain of sentries was so close they could almost touch each other. From the signal stations an approaching vessel could be seen at a distance of sixty miles. Two brigs-of-war patrolled around the island night

and day, and frigates guarded the only two landing places, in addition to the impregnable forts. Surely under these circumstances Napoleon might have been allowed to keep himself in good health by riding over this barren rock without the guardianship of a British officer.

Later on when Napoleon was confined to his room by serious illness, the governor issued orders that he must show himself twice a day to the officer on duty. When the Emperor refused, the officer was ordered to peep through the key-hole or the window to see if the illustrious prisoner had not flown! The result of all this irksome *espionnage* was that after the first months of his captivity Napoleon, who all his life had ridden many miles a day, never mounted a horse, and his health suffered from the lack of his regular exercise.

It may be of interest to give here a sort of composite sketch of Napoleon as he appeared at this time to a number of observers, especially as it is the last view we shall have of him. He was about five feet six and a half inches tall, stout, but very strongly built and muscular. His head was well shaped, his hair dark brown without a gray hair among it. His eyes were a light blue or gray; his nose finely formed; his teeth good, and his mouth beautiful; his chin round. His complexion was a pale olive color. His hands were small, with tapering fingers and beautiful nails. His limbs were well formed, with a small and well-shaped foot. His expression was pleasant, his smile winning and his manners affable. He wore the uniform of the Chasseurs de la Garde, a green coat with red facings, white waistcoat and breeches, white silk stockings and low shoes with small oval gold buckles. Over his waistcoat he wore the red cordon of the Légion d'honneur, with the plaque and the cross on his left breast.

As to Napoleon's habitation, it was a collection of old one-story cow-sheds. It was swept by eternal winds, it was shadeless and it was damp. The lord of so many palaces, who had also occupied as conqueror so many not

his own, was now confined for his private suite to two rooms about twelve feet by fourteen in size. Each of these rooms had two small windows looking towards the regimental camp. In one corner of his bedroom was the small camp-bed which Napoleon had used during his campaigns. Between the fireplace and the screen which hid the back door was a sofa on which he passed most of his days. As ornaments of the room there were portraits of Marie-Louise and the King of Rome, a miniature of Joséphine, and the alarm-clock of Frederick the Great taken from Sans Souci. In the study there were some book-shelves, a writing table, and another bed on which the Emperor could rest in the daytime, or to which he could change at night when restless or sleepless, as often happened.

At Saint Helena the Emperor breakfasted alone at eleven, dressed for the day about two, and dined at various hours from three to seven. Soon after his arrival he abandoned his uniform and generally wore a green hunting coat, but he retained the little cocked hat, although he laid aside the cockade. He passed all his days at the hut, reading, writing and talking.

The one great pleasure of Napoleon's life at Saint Helena was the arrival of a box of books. All through life he was a great reader. At Brienne all of his spare hours were spent in the school library where he literally devoured Cæsar and Plutarch, and developed his admiration for the heroes of Antiquity. Later in life he wrote of those joyous hours, when he lived among his books — his only friends. As a young lieutenant of artillery at Valence and Auxonne, he read Herodotus, "the father of history," then just translated into French, Machiavelli and Voltaire. History was always his favorite, but he also seized upon works of travel, biography, and particularly geography. There is still on file a list of the books he took to Egypt. There were over 300 volumes, nearly half of which were on History; 40 volumes on Geography; as many on Poetry; and many English novels, in French translation, as well as the Bible, the Koran and so on.

As Emperor he had made for him a travelling library of a thousand volumes. To save space the books were printed on thin paper, without margins, and were bound in flexible morocco covers. They were all packed in boxes lined with velvet, sixty in a box. The list included books on Religion, Poetry and the Drama, but was mostly made up of History, Biography and Memoirs. A box of books was always placed under the seat of his travelling carriage which was so arranged that it could be made up into a bed at night. There was an overhead light, which enabled the Emperor to read at night, and he devoured many volumes as he rolled through the country, throwing out of the window the books he did not care to keep. Wherever he halted for the night a box was always brought to his room, where he read to pass away his sleepless hours.

When he went to Elba, the books he selected from the library at Fontainebleau filled three large vans. In addition he subscribed to all the circulating libraries, and gave a standing order to have sent him all new volumes of historic value as they were published.

At Saint Helena Napoleon asked for some books which he needed, mainly in order to write his memoirs. The English Government was graciously pleased to furnish the volumes, but they sent him a demand for the amount paid. The Emperor ordered Bertrand not to settle the account until he received an itemized bill. So on his death the books were seized by Lowe and sold in London for less than a quarter of their original cost, some fourteen hundred pounds. As the books all bore traces of his study of them, and were covered with notes in the Emperor's handwriting, which had added greatly to their value, the Government by this petty, spiteful policy lost to the nation a priceless collection which should have been preserved in the British Museum.

Napoleon hated writing, and what he did write was almost illegible. But he liked to dictate, and sometimes did so for half a day at a stretch, only stopping occasionally to read over what had been written. Shorthand was then

practically unknown, and his poor secretaries had much difficulty in keeping pace with his rapid dictation. Worst of all, when wakeful, he dicated all night, and Gourgaud would be sent for at four in the morning to take the place of the exhausted Montholon.

Besides reading and dictation Napoleon had few distractions. He stayed so much indoors that he became ill from the lack of exercise; so the last year of his life he took up gardening. Paul Delaroche painted a portrait of him in his garden, wearing red slippers and a wide-brimmed straw hat, spade in hand, resting from his labors.

He sometimes played a game of billiards, at which he was not expert, or of chess, in which he was far from skilful. As he did not like to be beaten, it severely taxed the courtliness of his suite to let him win. At cards he always cheated, but refused to take the stakes he thus won.

Of the last days of Napoleon we know but little. Notwithstanding the atmosphere of surveillance in which he lived, his death was not expected, and the end came suddenly. During the first weeks of 1821 his disease made rapid progress, but even his physician did not realize that it was mortal until a few days before his death. He became faint and weary, lay upon his bed or reclined on his sofa all day, and gave up his dictating. He could hardly retain any food, and lost flesh perceptibly. On the 15 April he dictated his testament to Montholon. In this he distributed among his most faithful followers the six million francs he had deposited with his Paris bankers; also some souvenirs. For the last two days of his life he was constantly delirious. He yielded his last breath on the fifth day of May at ten minutes before six in the evening. A terrible storm was raging outside as the soul of the exile took flight. The violent wind shook the frail huts of the soldiers and tore up the trees that the Emperor had planted.

The autopsy, which was performed at his own request, showed that he had died of a cancer of the stomach, the

same disease which carried off his father and so many members of his family. All the other organs were sound. After being embalmed, his body was clothed in the familiar green uniform, and lay in state for four days. After death the superfluous flesh sank away, and all were struck with the serene and beautiful expression of the face, which recalled the early days of the Empire.

The funeral took place with all the pomp that the island could afford. The coffin, on which lay the sword and the cloak he had worn at Marengo, was borne with full military honors by British grenadiers to a spot chosen by the Emperor himself. The grave had been dug under two large weeping-willow trees in a secluded valley not far from Longwood.

In his will Napoleon had said: "Je désire que mes cendres reposent sur les bords de la Seine au milieu de ce peuple Français que j'ai tant aimé." Nineteen years later a French frigate, the "Belle-Poule," under the command of Prince de Joinville, anchored at Jamestown. In response to the universal desire of the nation King Louis Philippe had sent his son to convey back to France the Emperor's remains. On this last pious pilgrimage there returned to Saint Helena, Bertrand and Gourgaud, the young Las Cases, and Arthur Bertrand, "the first French visitor who entered Longwood without Lord Bathurst's permission." There, too, were Marchand, the valet, as well as Saint-Denis, and three others of the Emperor's faithful attendants. They found that Longwood had reverted to its former use and again become a stable.

At midnight on the 15 October 1840, the twenty-fifth anniversary of his arrival at Saint Helena, the party gathered around the Emperor's grave. When, after ten hours' strenuous labor, the coffin was finally opened, they beheld once more the well-known features, unaltered and unimpaired.

On a bitter December day the dead Conqueror made the most majestic of his entrances into his capital.

Mounted upon a stately funeral car, escorted by the aged veterans of the Old Guard, his body was borne in triumph down the beautiful avenue of the Champs-Elysées, under his Arc de Triomphe, across the Place de la Concorde, and over the Seine to the Invalides. Here the King of the French, surrounded by the royal family and all the dignitaries of State, awaited the arrival of the illustrious dead. Suddenly a chamberlain appeared at the door and broke the silence with the announcement: "L'Empereur!" and the assembly arose with a common emotion as the body was borne slowly in.

Under the gilded dome of the Invalides the spirit of the Great Emperor still reigns. His tomb is the first spot to which the visitor to Paris turns his steps. In an open circular crypt, directly under the dome, one sees the massive sarcophagus of red Finland porphyry. Like sentinels around the tomb stand twelve colossal Victories in Carrara marble, beside which are trophies composed of sixty standards taken from the enemy. In the mosaic of the pavement are traced the names of eight of Napoleon's greatest victories: Rivoli, Pyramides, Marengo, Austerlitz, Iéna, Friedland, Wagram, Moskova.

Here, under the soft blue light of the dome of the Invalides, on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people he loved so well, repose for all time the ashes of the greatest soldier the world has ever known.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

1769–1821

PERSONALITY OF NAPOLEON

His Place in History — Influence on Europe — Social Equality — Political Liberty — Higher Education — Publicity — Personal Appearance — Health — Method of Work — Dictating — Writing — Mental Equipment — Family Relations — His Career — Physical and Moral Courage — Statesmanship — *Moral* — Imagination — Ambition — Lack of Organization — Leadership — Compared to Cæsar.

THERE is no personage in history who has been so much written about as Napoleon. The books on his life would fill a large library. Yet, upon one point only is there practical unanimity of opinion — that as a soldier the world has never seen his equal. A century has not been long enough to arrive at a conclusion as to the full meaning of his life ; nor has it produced any man comparable to him in force of will, energy, or in sheer power of intellect.

It has been said that Napoleon himself never understood England, but it is certain that the British mind has never been able to fully appreciate the Emperor. Many have studied him, with profit and insight, but never entirely free from the old insular prejudice. In France, the cult of the Napoleonic Legend still survives, but no longer in an Imperialistic sense. The nation today is profoundly pacific, but it is not unmindful of the great figures of its historic past. This centennial year, France has united in honoring the greatness, nay the grandeur, of Napoleon.

A century hence it may be possible to see in a truer perspective the influence of Napoleon upon Europe and the world. Italy and Germany really owe to him their

unification. The struggles of peoples for their independence, that marked the course of the last century, received from him their original impulse, and in the Europe of to-day his influence is clearly to be seen. In the calm light of a century of experience there can now be little room for serious hesitation as to the place to be assigned him in the march of political and social progress. "No single mind," says Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, "is more powerfully stamped upon the institutions of contemporary France, for by his reaction against its excesses he saved all that was precious in the philosophy of the Revolution."

Napoleon had none of the illusions of a democratic statesman like Burke, that "whenever the people have a feeling they are commonly in the right." In his opinion an intelligent but illiterate population like that of France, demoralized by revolutionary anarchy, and without experience with democratic institutions, was unfit for political liberty. What the nation needed was social equality, guaranteed by a strong and intelligent government. The old Monarchy had been weak because the vital forces of the state had been paralysed by social privilege. No matter how autocratic the administration of Napoleon might be, it still provided an open career to talent of every kind.

In the social structure of France, as it was left by Napoleon, equality was the rule. Compared with the England of Pitt and Fox, the France of Napoleon was essentially democratic. "It is for this system of equality," said the exile to O'Meara, "that your oligarchy hates me so much."

With respect to political liberty Napoleon's attitude was entirely different. The memory of the wild orgy of talk and legislation in the revolutionary assemblies was still fresh in his mind, and the trying scenes of the 19 Brumaire had never been forgotten. He felt that a popular assembly, so far from being a help to the ruler, was a source of perplexity and embarrassment. If he

had not yielded during the Hundred Days to what he believed to be the growing popular demand for a legislative form of government, he might have preserved his throne.

The higher education of France received at his hands the impetus which won the admiration of Matthew Arnold. During the recent war some five million men in the American and British armies received some form of liberal or technical instruction. The idea was suggested by Napoleon at Saint Helena, where he said that it was one of his plans that every regiment should have its school for instruction in science, the humanities, and mechanics.

Brilliant as was his military renown, Napoleon always realized that he lacked the greatest of all props to political power — legitimacy — and that only continued success could assure the stability of his throne. He therefore turned to a new force, until then hardly realized by public men in Europe, and became the first journalist of his time. He possessed in the highest degree the talent of placing his victories in the most favorable light, while excluding all uncomfortable matter, and his bulletins, and other communications, published in the "Moniteur," constantly commended the principal actor to the admiration and applause of the world. In the monuments of the capital and in the museums of painting and sculpture, the memory of his military triumphs was also preserved, and will live for all time as an inspiration for a great martial people.

During his youth, and until he became Consul, Napoleon was not at all attractive in person, and could hardly be called well-groomed. He was a little over five feet six, English measure, and was well proportioned. At the age of forty he became stout, and looked even smaller than he really was. His hair was dark brown, and until after his return from Egypt he wore it long in the Revolutionary style. His forehead was high ; his eyes a brilliant blue-gray ; his nose straight and well shaped ; his mouth

rather large, with a so-called Cupidon upper lip ; his chin round and dimpled. During the early years of the Empire, before his face became too full, his features were very handsome, with a clear cameo-like profile.

In early life his health was uniformly good, but later he began to show signs of lessened activity, due partly to a greater love of ease, and partly to failing physical strength. He had inherited a sound and tough body, capable of standing great fatigue, and with remarkable nervous strength. He was very moderate so far as the table went, although he ate too fast, and he never drank any wine except a little Chambertin diluted with water. Without being entirely chaste, he was never in any sense a libertine.

During his campaigns, until the different army corps had nearly reached the positions assigned them, Napoleon remained at general headquarters. Then he proceeded rapidly to the front in his travelling carriage. In the presence of the enemy he always accompanied his troops on horseback. At his quarters in the field, he received the reports of his marshals, and personally directed all the corps movements. In the intervals, he attended to the internal administration of France, and replied to the reports which were sent him from Paris by his ministers, who wrote him every day. He thus governed his Empire at the same time that he directed his army. He had such a remarkable constitution that he could sleep for an hour, be awakened to receive a report and give an order, and immediately fall asleep again, without his repose or his health suffering. Six hours of sleep was sufficient for him, whether he took it consecutively or at different intervals during the twenty-four hours.

The days which preceded a great battle he was constantly on horseback, to reconnoitre the force and the position of the enemy, study the field of battle, and visit the bivouacs of his soldiers. Even during the night, he rode along the entire front to further assure himself of the strength of the enemy by the number of his camp fires,

and he wore out several horses in a day. The day of battle he took a position at a central point where he could see everything which took place. He was surrounded by his aides de camp, whom he dispatched to carry his orders to all points. A short distance behind him were always stationed four squadrons of the cavalry of the Guard. The marshals were advised of his position, so that their reports could easily reach him. If his presence became necessary at any point, he immediately galloped there, followed by his escort.

Napoleon was a very hardy, but also a very careless rider. He sat hunched up in the saddle, holding the reins loosely in his right hand, with his left arm pendent by his side. Sometimes he went at a walk or a trot, but more often at full gallop, without paying the slightest attention to the route.

Before adopting the legendary gray redingote, Napoleon protected himself against the cold of the bivouac with a light-blue cloak, the "manteau de Marengo," which he always kept, and which covered his coffin at Saint Helena, and under which he now sleeps in the Invalides.

Upon the field of battle the tents of the Emperor were erected in the middle of a square of the Old Guard. There were always three principal tents, one for the Emperor, one for Berthier, the Chief of Staff, and a third for the officers of the household. The personal tent of the Emperor was in two parts : the first, called the office, was furnished with a small writing-table, an arm-chair of red morocco, for the Emperor, and two stools for the secretary and the aide de camp on duty ; the table and the chairs were all folding. The second part was used as a bedroom : here was erected the little folding iron campaign bed, with straps, enclosed with dark green curtains. The foot-rug of the travelling-coach served for a *descente de lit*, and the *nécessaire de voyage* completed the furnishing. At night, the secretary and the aide de camp slept on cushions in the office.

The tents, the bed, and the furniture could all be folded and rolled up, and packed on the backs of mules for transportation. The little iron camp-bed was about six feet long and three feet wide. It was the bed used by Napoleon at Saint Helena, upon which he died, and is now at Paris.

Méneval states that Napoleon never dictated except while walking. He sometimes began while seated, but at the first phrase he arose, and began to walk around the room, continuing this promenade the entire time he was dictating.

Words to express his thoughts came to him without effort, and although sometimes incorrect, they always conveyed his idea clearly. In his addresses to the Senate, in his proclamations, in his diplomatic notes, the style was always well-considered and appropriate to the subject.

Napoleon rarely wrote himself : he found it too fatiguing, as his hand could not keep pace with the rapidity of his conception. He never took a pen in his hand except occasionally when he was alone, and there was no one within call to act as his amanuensis. His writing was an assemblage of characters without connection and almost unreadable. Half the letters of the words were wanting. His spelling was never correct, although he could always find any errors in the writing of other persons. This was due to the fact that his mind moved so rapidly that he would not interrupt the flow of his thoughts to take time to write correctly.

Napoleon had naturally a very active mind. Always, and in all things, he went straight to the point. In a discussion, he always found at once the conclusive argument ; upon the field of battle, he discovered the decisive manœuvre. For him, to think, to decide, to act, was a single indivisible act, so rapidly executed that between the thought and the act there was not a moment lost. " If," says Thiers, " he had chosen one of the civil careers, where one can only succeed by persuading others, in

winning them to your point of view, perhaps he would have learned to moderate, to control his passionate disposition ; but thrown into the career of arms, and endowed with the supreme faculty of divining at a glance what must be done to win, he reached with one bound the domination of Italy ; with a second, the government of France ; with a third, the supremacy of Europe, — what marvel then that this nature which God had made so quick, which victory had made still more prompt, should be brusque, impetuous, domineering, absolute in its will ! Everything had coöperated, nature and events, to make of this mortal the most absolute, the most impetuous of men."

It was not, however, until towards the end of his career that Napoleon gave way entirely to this spirit of domination. Then, seeing nations submit, and sovereigns bow before him, he no longer takes account either of men or of nature, and dares all, undertakes all.

When he had ceased to command he became gentle, simple, charitable, with that charity of a great mind which understands human nature, appreciates its weaknesses, and pardons them because he knows that they are unavoidable. At Saint Helena, divested of all prestige, having over his companions in misfortune only the ascendancy of a great mind and character, Napoleon continued to dominate them absolutely. He so strongly attached them to himself, by his unaltering kindness, that after fearing him for the greater part of their lives, they loved him for the rest.

Towards his family he always showed the greatest kindness and generosity, and pardoned over and over again their faults and their failures. For the Empress Joséphine, even after her divorce, he also displayed a profound tenderness, although his first passionate love for her had long been cooled by her many acts of infidelity. In his testament he speaks in the kindest terms of his " dear wife Marie-Louise," and states that at the last moment he has for her only the tenderest sentiments,

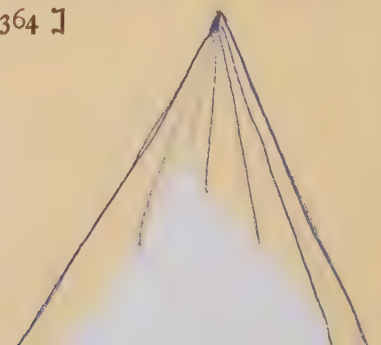
although he knew full well that she was living in open concubinage with Neipperg.

No career in history has been so dramatic, few so pathetic as that of Napoleon. It covers just nineteen years. It began in 1796 with the Campaign of Italy : it ended with Waterloo in 1815. Looking back when all was over, from the lonely rock where fate had chained him, he said : " I may have had many plans, but I was never free to carry out any of them. It was all very well for me to hold the helm, but however strong was the hand that grasped it, the waves were much stronger still. I have never been really my master ; I have always been controlled by circumstances."

He always realized that his hold upon power was insecure. It was this feeling that constantly urged him on to deeds that brought ruin in their train. " Your sovereigns, born on the throne," he said to Metternich, " may be beaten twenty times and go back to their capitals ; I cannot, because I am an upstart soldier. My domination will not outlive the day when I cease to be strong, and to be feared because I am strong."

As a soldier, Napoleon's personal courage was above reproach. Of this he gave many admirable examples, from the bridge of Arcole, in the first campaign in Italy, to his last battle at Waterloo. It was, however, his moral courage that won his campaigns ; the characteristic boldness in design and execution, the willingness to risk much to win much, that, coupled with intellect, made him the master of Europe.

No man in history has equalled Napoleon in force of intellect and character, and perhaps no one has ever been more favored by opportunity. Yet despite his great administrative work, Napoleon was not a true statesman. He had the power to create, but not the talent to mould into permanent form. Had he been content to rule a France limited by her " natural boundaries " of the Rhine, the Alps and the Pyrenees, he



might have founded a dynasty which would be the most powerful in Europe to-day. But as Frederick puts it, he sought to keep too much and ended by keeping nothing.

Success in war, in the opinion of Napoleon himself, is largely a question of *moral*, in other words, of opinion or reputation, and, he adds, "the art is to preserve the reputation when one has secured it." This view is also endorsed by the greatest soldier of our own day, Maréchal Foch, who insists upon it frequently in his writings. Every great commander, having established a reputation for boldness, enterprise and skill, wins under circumstances where, without this moral help, he might fail. This fact is often illustrated in Napoleon's career, particularly at the opening of the Wagram campaign of 1809, and during the Campaign of France in 1814, where his reputation of doing sudden, unexpected and dangerous things puzzled and dismayed his antagonists.

No great soldier has ever achieved success without imagination : the ability to see the result of a far-reaching operation at its very beginning, and Napoleon possessed this trait in a very marked degree. Says Bourrienne, "Although he was perhaps the most positive man who ever lived, yet I have known no one who allowed himself to be carried away more easily by the charms of imagination : under many circumstances, to wish and to believe were one and the same thing." But this will to see nothing impossible, this unlimited reliance on results, which was at first one of the causes of his success, ended by becoming fatal. There was developed gradually the feeling that failure was for him impossible, and that his own views and acts were infallibly right. When he ceased to tolerate dissent, discussion fell into disuse, and every one obeyed his orders, even though he knew that the Emperor was not sustained by facts. This was most marked during the unfortunate campaign of 1813, the poorest he ever conducted. As Marmont said of him, "He no longer believed in truth when it conflicted with his passions, his interests, or his moods."

That Napoleon was ambitious cannot be gainsaid — ambitious not only for the present but for the future. Bourrienne quotes him as saying: "For me the immortality of the soul is the impression one leaves on the memory of man. This thought leads to great things; it were better not to have lived, than to leave behind no traces of one's existence." It is the thought expressed in Scott's immortal lines:

"One crowded hour of glorious life
Is worth an age without a name."

On another occasion he denied that he had ambition; then he corrected himself, and said that it was "so natural to him, so innate, so attached to his being that it was like the blood that flowed in his veins or the air he breathed."

So long as Napoleon commanded small armies, and retained his abnormal nervous vigor, his desire to keep everything in his own hands was one of the chief causes of his success. But when his armies grew larger, and his physical force began to decline, his lack of a competent general staff led to failure. It was impossible for him to attend personally to details so extensive, and he had trained no subordinates to do it for him. Like many men of very positive character, Napoleon wanted around him only active, laborious and obedient mediocrity. His nominal chief of staff, Berthier, was only a very efficient and docile head-clerk. It was the same with his marshals: only a few, like Masséna, Soult and Davout, were capable of independent command. His other generals were exceptional lieutenants only.

Never was a man so born for leadership as Napoleon. This trait was displayed even during his school days at Brienne. When he took command of the Army of Italy in 1796, he found a group of general officers all older and more experienced than himself, and yet he at once imposed his will upon them. There was no attempt to evade an order during the campaign. This power over men extended both to his generals and to his troops.

"The qualities which go to make up the typical warrior," says Dodge, "were possessed by Napoleon in greater measure than in any other man of modern days, and so superior was he to his antagonists that he could not fail to win under anything like equal conditions." No commander in history ever conceived such gigantic military problems, reduced their execution to such simplicity, and carried them through with such boldness and ability.

His power to gauge a situation was most remarkable. Says Odenleben, in speaking of the campaign in Saxony: "One look through his glass, and he had seized the picture of a whole army with incredible speed. He thus judged, from some height, whole corps of fifty or sixty thousand men, according to space and position." When to this power of clear vision there be added the innate boldness of the man, and his capacity for hard, unceasing work, you have such a combination of qualities as the world has rarely seen.

At Saint Helena, Napoleon said, "Genius consists in carrying out things despite obstacles, and meanwhile in finding few or no impossibilities." The result of all this clearness, boldness and application was, as he himself puts it, that "all plans of the fourteen campaigns of Napoleon were in strict accord with the true principles of war. His wars were bold but methodical."

To this greatest of commanders, leadership is naturally the sovereign spell. "An army," he lays down, "is nothing save what it is by its head. The general is the head, is the all, of an army. It was not the Roman legions that conquered Gaul, but Cæsar; it was not the Carthaginian army at the gates of Rome that made the Republic tremble, but Hannibal."

In all his wonderful career there is no scene more thrilling than that in which by word and action he subdued and won over the first of the troops sent to oppose him upon his return from Elba. Alone, in front of his chasseurs, Napoleon steps forward: "Soldiers of the

Fifth, I am your Emperor! Acknowledge me!" Then, as he flings back his coat: "If there is amongst you a soldier who would slay his Emperor, here I am!"

France was won; the whole army yielded to the spell. Theatrical it may have been, but who except this mighty player would have had the daring, the skill, the profound knowledge of the heart, to play that desperate rôle? For this man knew human nature as thoroughly as Shakespeare, and could play upon it with the same sure touch.

It is futile, as Rose well says, to attempt to sum up Napoleon in any one category. Attempts have been made to do so, but with indifferent success. There is only one man in history of faculties sufficiently varied and forceful to challenge comparison with Napoleon. The figure of Julius Cæsar dominates the Roman world, as that of the great Corsican overshadows the age of the French Revolution. Take them all in all, as soldiers, statesmen, law-givers, Cæsar and Napoleon are the two greatest characters in history.

APPENDIX

THE BONAPARTES

Genealogical Table

Biographical Notes

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THE BONAPARTES

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	3 Napoleon I	7 Napoleon II		
	4 Lucien	8 Charles	15 Joseph	
			16 Lucien	
			17 Charles	
		9 Louis Lucien		
		10 Pierre	18 Roland	
	5 Louis	11 Napoleon Charles		
		12 Napoleon Louis		
		13 Napoleon III	19 Prince Imperial	
	6 Jerome	14 Prince Napoleon	20 Victor	22 Louis
			21 Louis	

Compiled by the Author

THE BONAPARTE FAMILY

First Generation

1. Charles Bonaparte, born at Ajaccio, Corsica, 29 March, 1746; died at Montpellier, France, 24 February, 1785; married 2 June, 1764, Letitia Ramolino, born at Ajaccio, 24 August, 1750; died at Rome, 2 February, 1836. Children: (2) Joseph, (3) Napoleon, (4) Lucien, (5) Louis, (6) Jérôme, Elisa, Pauline, Caroline.

Second Generation

2. Joseph, King of Spain, born at Corte, Corsica, 7 January, 1768; died at Florence, 28 July, 1844; married 1 August, 1794, Julie Clary, born 26 December, 1771. No sons.
3. Napoleon I, Emperor of the French, born at Ajaccio, 15 August, 1769; died at Saint Helena, 5 May, 1821; married, 1st, 9 March, 1796, Joséphine de Beauharnais, born at Trois-Ilets, Martinique, 23 June, 1763; died at Malmaison, 29 May, 1814; divorced, 1809; married, 2d, 11 March, 1810, Marie-Louise, born at Vienna, 12 December, 1791; died at Vienna, 18 December, 1847. Son: (7) Napoleon II.
4. Lucien, Prince of Canino (in Italy), born at Ajaccio, 21 May, 1775; died at Viterbo, Italy, 30 June, 1840; married, 1st, 4 May, 1794, Catherine Boyer, by whom he had two daughters; married, 2d, 23 October, 1803, Alexandrine de Bleschamp (Madame Jouberthou). Children: (8) Charles, (9) Louis Lucien, (10) Pierre, and two other sons and four daughters.
5. Louis, King of Holland, born at Ajaccio, 2 September, 1778; died at Leghorn, Italy, 25 July, 1846; married 4 January, 1802, Hortense de Beauharnais, born at Paris, 10 April, 1783; died at Arenenberg, Switzerland, 5 October, 1837.

Children: (11) NAPOLEON CHARLES, (12) NAPOLEON LOUIS, (13) LOUIS NAPOLEON (NAPOLEON III).

6. JÉRÔME, King of Westphalia, born at Ajaccio, 15 November, 1784; died near Paris, 24 June, 1860; married, 1st, 24 December, 1803, Elizabeth Patterson, of Baltimore, born 6 February, 1785; died 4 April, 1879; one son: JEROME NAPOLEON, born at Camberwell, England, 7 July, 1805; died at Baltimore, 17 June, 1870. He had two sons: JEROME NAPOLEON, born at Baltimore, 5 November, 1832; died at Pride's Crossing, Mass., 4 September, 1893; and CHARLES JOSEPH, born at Baltimore, 9 June, 1851; died at Bella Vista, near Baltimore, 28 June, 1921. The former left a son of the same name (b. 1878); the latter had no children. King JÉRÔME married, 2d, 22 August, 1807, after the annulment of his first marriage, Princess Catherine of Würtemberg, born 21 February, 1783. Children: JÉRÔME NAPOLEON, Prince de Montfort, born 24 August, 1814; died 12 May, 1847; (14) NAPOLEON JOSEPH, and Mathilde, born at Trieste, 27 May, 1820; died at Paris, 2 January, 1904; married Prince Demidov.

ELISA, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, born at Ajaccio, 3 January, 1777; died near Trieste, 6 August, 1820; married 1 May, 1797, Félix Bacciochi (b. 1762).

PAULINE, Princesse Borghèse, born at Ajaccio, 20 October, 1780; died at Florence, 9 June, 1825; married, 1st, 14 June, 1797, General Leclerc (1772–1802); married, 2d, 28 August, 1803, Prince Borghèse.

CAROLINE, Queen of Naples, born at Ajaccio, 25 March, 1782; died at Florence, 18 May, 1839; married 20 January, 1800, General JOACHIM MURAT, who became King of Naples in 1808. He was born 25 March, 1771 (? 1767); executed in Italy, 13 October, 1815. Children: NAPOLEON ACHILLE, born 21 January, 1801; died 15 April, 1847; married Caroline Dudley; and NAPOLEON LUCIEN CHARLES, born 16 May, 1803; died 10 April, 1878; married, 1827, Georgiana Fraser, by whom he had three sons: JOACHIM (1834–1901), ACHILLE (1847–1895), and LOUIS (1851–).

Third Generation

7. Napoleon II, King of Rome, Duke of Reichstadt, born at Paris, 20 March, 1811; died at Vienna, 22 July, 1832. Never married.
8. Charles, born at Paris, 24 May, 1803, died at Paris, 29 July, 1857, married at Brussels, 29 June, 1822, his cousin Zénaïde, born 8 July, 1804, died 8 August, 1854, daughter of King Joseph, by whom he had three sons and five daughters. The branch is now extinct.
9. Lucien Louis, born at Thorngrove, England, 4 January, 1813; died 3 November, 1891; married; left no children.
10. Pierre, born at Rome, 12 September, 1815; died at Versailles, 7 April, 1881; married 3 November, 1867, Justine Eléonore Ruffin, by whom he had, before his marriage, two children: (18) Roland and Jeanne. In January, 1870, he killed Victor Noir.
11. Napoleon Charles, born at Paris, 10 October, 1802; died at The Hague, 5 May, 1807.
12. Napoleon Louis, born at Paris, 11 October, 1804; died at Forli, Italy 17 March, 1831; married his cousin, Charlotte, (1802–1839) daughter of King Joseph. No children.
13. Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, born at Paris, 20 April, 1808; died at Chislehurst, near London, 9 January, 1873; married 30 January, 1853, Eugénie de Montijo, born at Granada, Spain, 5 May, 1826; died at Madrid, 11 July, 1920. One son: (19) Napoleon Louis, the Prince Imperial.
14. Napoleon Joseph, called Prince Napoleon, born at Trieste, 9 September, 1822; died at Rome, 17 March 1891; married in January, 1859, Princess Clotilde, daughter of King Victor Emmanuel. Children: (20) Victor, (21) Louis, and Marie Lætitia born 20 December, 1866, who married in September, 1888, her maternal uncle Amadeus, Duke of Aosta, ex-King of Spain, and brother of King Humbert of Italy, by whom she had one son, Humbert, born in 1889.

Fourth Generation

15. Joseph, Prince of Canino, born at Philadelphia, 13 February, 1824; died 1865; left no heirs.
16. Lucien, Cardinal Bonaparte, born at Rome, 15 November, 1828; died in 1895.
17. Charles, born 5 February, 1839, died in 1899; married 26 November, 1859, the Princess Ruspoli, by whom he had two daughters, born in 1870 and 1872.
18. Roland, born 19 May, 1858; married 7 November, 1880, Marie Blanc, the daughter of the proprietor of the gambling establishment at Monte Carlo. She died 1 August, 1882, leaving him one daughter and an enormous fortune. His daughter, Marie, in 1907, married Prince George, second son of King George of Greece.
19. Napoleon Louis, the Prince Imperial, born at Paris 16 March, 1856; killed in Zululand, South Africa, 1 June, 1879. Never married.
20. Napoleon Victor, Prince Napoleon, present head of the Bonaparte family, born at Paris, 18 July, 1862; married 14 November, 1910, the Princess Clémentine, born 1872, daughter of Leopold II, King of the Belgians. She is a cousin of the present King Albert; two children: Clotilde, born at Brussels, 20 March, 1912, and (22) Louis Napoleon, born at Brussels, 23 January, 1914.
21. Louis Napoleon, born at Paris, 16 July, 1864. He was a General of Cavalry in the Russian Army, and, in 1906, Governor of the Caucasus. Never married.

Fifth Generation

22. Louis Napoleon, son and heir of Prince Napoleon, born at Brussels, 23 January, 1914.

MARSHALS OF THE EMPIRE

Name	*Title*	*Born*	*Appointed*	*Died*	*Cause*
Augereau	Castiglione (D)	1757	1804	1816	Natural
Bernadotte	Sweden (K)	1763	1804	1844	Natural
Berthier	Neufchâtel (P)	1753	1804	1815	Accident
Bessières	Istria (D)	1768	1804	1813	Wounds
Brune	Comte	1763	1804	1815	Murder
Davout	Eckmühl (P)	1770	1804	1823	Natural
Grouchy	Comte	1766	1815	1847	Natural
Jourdan	Comte	1762	1804	1833	Natural
Kellermann *	Valmy (D)	1735	1804	1820	Natural
Lannes	Montebello (D)	1769	1804	1809	Wounds
Lefebvre *	Dantzig (D)	1755	1804	1820	Natural
Macdonald	Taranto (D)	1765	1809	1840	Natural
Marmont	Ragusa (D)	1774	1809	1852	Natural
Masséna	Essling (P)	1756	1804	1817	Natural
Moncey	Conegliano (D)	1754	1804	1842	Natural
Mortier	Treviso (D)	1768	1804	1835	Bomb
Murat	Naples (K)	1771	1804	1815	Shot
Ney	Moskova (P)	1769	1804	1815	Shot
Oudinot	Reggio (D)	1767	1809	1847	Natural
Perignon *	Comte	1754	1804	1818	Natural
Poniatowski	Prince	1762	1813	1813	Drowned
Saint-Cyr	Comte	1764	1812	1830	Natural
Sérurier *	Comte	1742	1804	1819	Natural
Soult	Dalmatia (D)	1769	1804	1851	Natural
Suchet	Albufera (D)	1772	1811	1826	Natural
Victor	Belluno (D)	1764	1807	1841	Natural

* Honorary Marshals.

TITLES CONFERRED BY NAPOLEON

An asterisk is affixed to the names of his Marshals

*Augereau, Duc de Castiglione.
*Bernadotte, Prince de Ponte Corvo.
*Berthier, Chief of Staff; Prince de Neufchâtel, Prince de Wagram.
*Bessières, Duc d'Istria; Commander of the Old Guard.
Bonaparte, Joseph (King of Naples), King of Spain.
Bonaparte, Louis, King of Holland.
Bonaparte, Jérôme, King of Westphalia.
*Brune, Comte.
Cambacérès, Arch-Chancellor; Duc de Parma.
Caulaincourt, Duc de Vicenza; Master of Horse; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1814).
Champagny, Duc de Cadore; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1807–1811).
Chaptal, Minister of the Interior; Comte de Chanteloup.
Clarke, Minister of War; Duc de Feltre.
*Davout, Duc d'Auerstädt, Prince d'Eckmühl.
Drouet, Comte d'Erlon.
Duroc, Grand Marshal of the Palace; Duc de Friuli.
Eugène (Beauharnais), Viceroy of Italy.
Fesch (Cardinal), Grand Almoner.
Fouché, Minister of Police (1804–10); Duc d'Otranto.
*Grouchy, Comte.
*Jourdan, Comte.
Junot, Duc d'Abrantès.
*Kellermann, Duc de Valmy.
*Lannes, Duc de Montebello.
Lavalette, Comte; Minister of Posts.
Lebrun, Duc de Plaisance.
*Lefebvre, Duc de Dantzig.
*Macdonald, Duc de Taranto.
Maret, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1811–14); Duc de Bassano.
*Marmont, Duc de Ragusa.
*Masséna, Duc de Rivoli; Prince d'Essling.
Mollien, Comte; Minister of the Treasury.
*Moncey, Duc de Conegliano.
*Mortier, Duc de Treviso.
Mouton, Comte de Lobau.
*Murat (Grand Duc de Berg); King of Naples.
*Ney, Duc d'Elchingen; Prince de la Moskova.
*Oudinot, Duc de Reggio.
Pasquier, Duc de; Prefect of Police.
Savary, Duc de Rovigo; Minister of Police (1810–14).
*Sérurier, Comte.
*Soult, Duc de Dalmatia.
*Saint-Cyr, Marquis de.
*Suchet, Duc d'Albufera.
Talleyrand, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1799–1807); Grand Chamberlain (1804–1808); Prince de Benevento.
Vandamme, Comte.
*Victor, Duc de Belluno

CHRONOLOGY

1769 Napoleon born at Ajaccio, Corsica, 15 August
1779 School at Brienne, 25 April
1784 Military Academy at Paris, 31 October
1785 Second-Lieutenant of Artillery, 1 September
1785 to 1793 In garrison at Valence or Auxonne, except when absent on leave in Corsica
1789 Capture of the Bastille, 14 July
1791 First-Lieutenant, June
1792 Captain, July
French Republic, 21 September
1793 Execution of Louis XVI, 21 January
Bonapartes leave Corsica, 11 June
Major, 29 September
Capture of Toulon, 19 December
General of Brigade, 22 December
1794 Inspector of Coasts, at Nice
Fall of Robespierre, 9 Thermidor (27 July)
Under arrest, 10–23 August; restored to rank, 14 September
1795 Ordered to Paris, May
The 13 Vendémiaire (5 October)
General of Division, 26 October
1796 Marriage with Joséphine, 9 March
Leaves to take command of Army of Italy, 11 March
Victory of Montenotte, 12 April
Battle of Lodi, 10 May
Entry into Milan 15 May
Siege of Mantua begins, 30 May
Castiglione, 5 August
Verona, Bassano, Mantua, 4–12 September
Arcole, 15–17 November
1797 Rivoli, 14 January
Fall of Mantua, 2 February
Leoben peace preliminaries, 18 April
18 Fructidor (4 September)
Peace of Campo Formio, 17 October
Return to Paris, 5 December
1798 Sails for Egypt, 19 May
Arrives at Malta, 10 June
Alexandria taken, 2 July
The Pyramids, 21 July
Battle of the Nile, 1 August
1799 Jaffa stormed, 6 March
Siege of Acre, March to May
Mont-Tabor, 16 April
Aboukir, 25 July
Leaves Egypt, 24 August
Lands at Fréjus, 9 October
18 Brumaire (9 November)
First Consul, 24 December
1800 Leaves Paris for Italy, 6 May
Crosses the Alps, 15–20 May
Marengo, 14 June

CHRONOLOGY

1801 Peace of Lunéville, 9 February
The Concordat, 15 August
1802 President of Cisalpine Republic, January
Peace of Amiens, 27 March
Consul for Life, 4 August
1803 Code Napoléon decreed, 5 March
Renewal of war with England, 18 May
1804 Duc d'Enghien shot, 21 March
Empire proclaimed, 18 May
Coronation, 2 December
1805 Crowned King of Italy, 26 May
Army leaves Boulogne, 27 August
Surrender of Mack at Ulm, 17 October
Trafalgar, 21 October
Vienna occupied, 13 November
Austerlitz, 2 December
Peace of Presburg, 26 December
1806 Invasion of Naples by Masséna, February
Joseph, King of Naples, 30 March
Louis, King of Holland, 5 June
Confederation of the Rhine, 12 July
War with Prussia, October
Jena and Auerstädt, 14 October
Berlin occupied, 27 October
The Berlin Decree, 21 November
1807 Eylau, 7–8 February
Friedland, 14 June
Peace of Tilsit, 7 July
Jérôme, King of Westphalia, July
Junot occupies Lisbon, 30 November
1808 Charles IV resigns crown at Bayonne, 5 May
Joseph, King of Spain, 6 June
Surrender of Dupont at Baylen, 19 July
Erfurt Interview, 27 September
Napoleon in Spain, November
Occupies Madrid, 4 December
1809 Returns to Paris, 23 January
Eckmühl, 22 April
Vienna occupied, 13 May
Battle of Aspern, 21–22 May
Wagram, 5–6 July
Peace of Schönbrunn, 14 October
Divorce of Joséphine, 15 December
1810 Marriage with Marie-Louise, 11 March
1811 Birth of King of Rome, 20 March
1812 Invasion of Russia, 23 June
Smolensk, 18 August
Borodino, 7 September
Moscow occupied, 14 September
Retreat begun, 19 October
Beresina, 26–29 November
Napoleon leaves army, 5 December
1813 Lützen, 2 May
Bautzen, 21 May
Armistice, 4 June to 10 August
Dresden, 26–27 August
Leipzig, 16–18 October
1814 Saint-Dizier, 27 January
Brienne, 29 January
La Rothière, 1 February
Champaubert, 10 February
Montmirail, 13 February
Nangis, 17 February
Craonne, 7 March
Laon, 9 March
Paris capitulates, 31 March
Abdication of Napoleon, 6 April
Treaty of Fontainebleau, 11 April
Leaves Fontainebleau, 20 April
Death of Joséphine, 29 May

Congress of Vienna, 20 September
1815 Napoleon leaves Elba, 26 February
Disembarks near Cannes, 1 March
Arrives at Paris, 20 March
Champ de Mai, 1 June
Leaves Paris, 12 June
Ligny, 16 June
Waterloo, 18 June
Final Abdication, 22 June
Goes to Malmaison, 25 June
Leaves for Rochefort, 29 June
Surrenders to England, 14 July
Sails for St. Helena, 10 August
Arrives at St. Helena, 15 October
1821 Dies at Longwood, 5 May
1832 Death of King of Rome, 22 July
1840 Remains placed in Invalides, 15 December

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